TOP STORY: MICHAEL T. KLARE ON NATO'S NEW MISSION

May 1 - 14, 1995

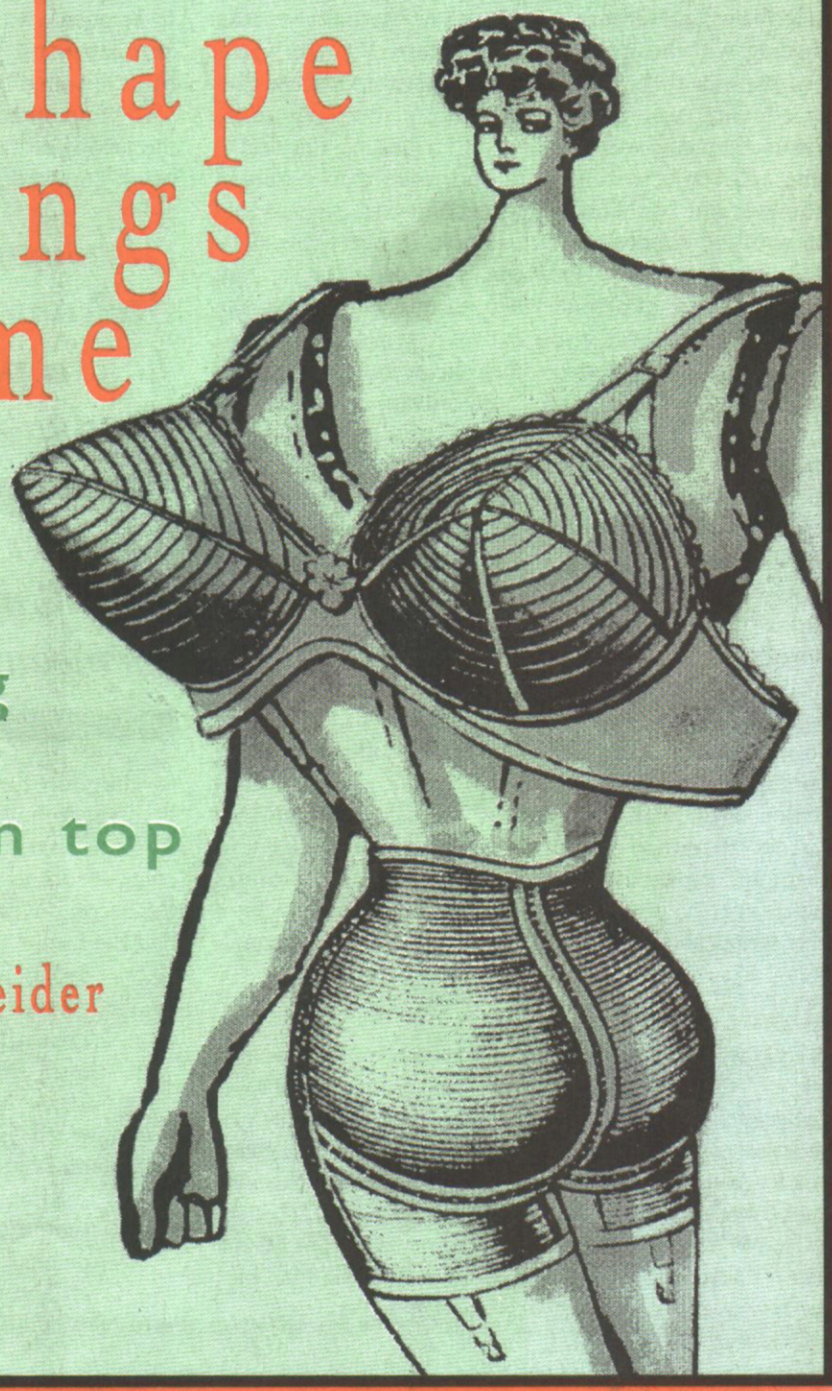
In THESE TIMES

the alternative newsmagazine

The shape of things to come

How the fashion industry is redesigning the female body—from top to bottom.

By Katharine Greider



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EDITORIAL

MCNAMARA COMES UNCLEAN

Is Robert McNamara just another Vietnam veteran dealing with his grief and guilt? Many Vietnam veterans see him that way, and McNamara does seem genuinely contrite over his role, as defense secretary under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, in facilitating the deaths of some 58,000 American youth and more than a million Vietnamese. But McNamara, who confessed his sins last month with the publication of his book, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*, is no ordinary veteran. He led the charge at a time when he understood that the conflict in Vietnam was a lost cause. And when he parted ways with Lyndon Johnson, he held his tongue. Even now, despite his insider status in two administrations, he still displays what can charitably be described as a shallow understanding of the causes and meaning of the war.

The book, and McNamara's several TV interviews, have provoked an uproar among former hawks and doves alike. The hawks see him as rubbing salt into old wounds, the doves as offering too little too late. The cartoonist Paul Conrad evoked the latter feeling by portraying McNamara standing before the Vietnam memorial in Washington and saying, "Sorry 'bout that," a sardonic phrase popular among GIs during the slaughter in Vietnam.

And indeed, while what McNamara has offered is better than nothing, it is almost as much a justification as a condemnation of the war. He still doesn't get it. He insists that the "errors" made were "not of values and intentions, but of judgment and capabilities." And in providing a list of causes for the disaster he reveals himself to be the ultimate technocrat. He writes about "misjudging the capacity of Vietnam," "underrating" the force of nationalism, "failing to recognize the limits of high-tech equipment" and "poor organization." This pathetic litany tells us a lot about McNamara but little about the war and its causes—and the true failings of our leaders. He never questions how and why we intervened in Vietnam in the first place, or what that reveals about the priorities of our governing elite. But without knowing these things—and what they entailed—the true horror of the war cannot be understood.

The United States got involved in Vietnam years before McNamara left the Ford Motor Co. to join the Kennedy administration. It did so because it was trying to help France reimpose colonial rule after Japan lost World War II. During that war, the Japanese had "liberated" Vietnam by driving the French out, and the Viet Minh, in cooperation with American forces, had fought the Japanese. After leading the Viet Minh resistance, Ho Chi Minh emerged as the most popular figure in the country. Recognized even by Vietnam's emperor, Bao Dai, who abdicated in the Viet Minh's favor, Ho Chi Minh expected to establish an independent nation.

Although Robert McNamara has reopened a valuable debate about the Vietnam War, he still misses its meaning.

But he had not reckoned with the French administrators, planters and businessmen remaining in Saigon—or with the British, whom the Allied command designated to accept the Japanese surrender and maintain order in southern Vietnam. The British, who were not quite ready to abandon Europe's colonial order—especially India—began rearming the French soon after Japan was defeated. And the French then attempted to win back their longtime colony from its people. But, exhausted from their losses in the Second World War, neither the British nor the French had the means to conduct a war in Vietnam. So, starting in 1950, the United States began paying the bills.

From the beginning it was a lost cause. But the French fought Ho Chi Minh for almost nine years, until their disastrous defeat at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. And during that time, the United States provided $2.6 billion in military assistance, or 80 percent of the war's cost.

After Dien Bien Phu, France and the Viet Minh signed a peace accord in Paris. It ended the war, divided Vietnam in half "temporarily," and set up an apparatus to ensure peace and reunify the coun-

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Welcome

Once again, we're pleased to announce the hiring of two new staff members. This time, it's Charisse M. Williams, as advertising director, and Kit Boyce as assistant art director. Charisse, a native Chicagoan, comes to us directly from Cornell University, where she graduated in January as a major in Africana studies. At Cornell, she served as public relations director of the Cornell University Uhuru Kuumba Dance Ensemble. Kit Boyce, whose illustrations have appeared in our pages recently, is a native of Pittsburgh and has a master of fine arts from the Art Institute of Chicago. He is also an easel painter, sculptor and 3-D photographer. He and his wife, Sue Julien, have two children—Esme, 8, and Cody, 5.

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"...with liberty and justice for all"

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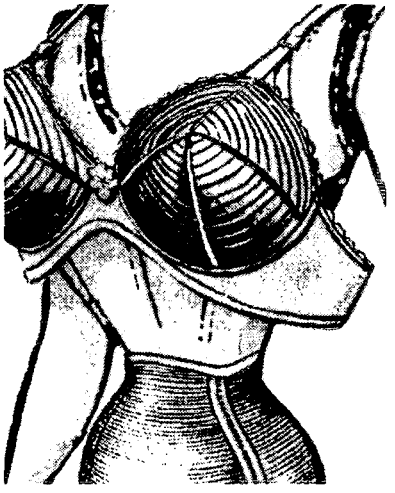
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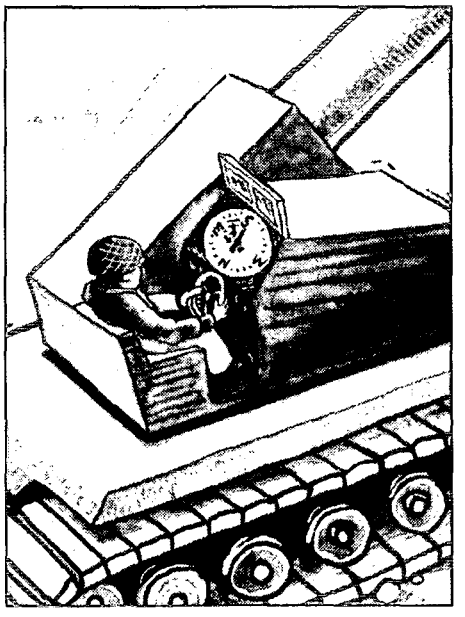
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LETTERS

Omitted

David Moberg's description of the AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour, Fla., ("Twilight of the idle," *ITT*, March 20) makes several good points. But labor historians and seasoned observers alike will search in vain for crucial elements Moberg left out of the story.

It is no secret that Lane Kirkland's tenure has coincided with a major shift in the AFL-CIO's budget: Since 1980, its "international" programs have consistently received more funds than its "domestic" programs. Juliet Schor, Daniel Cantor and Beth Sims have meticulously detailed a murky zone of AFL-CIO internationalism entwined with U.S. intelligence-related activities, supported by such right-wing megamillionaires as J.P. Grace and Cold War foundations like the National Endowment for Democracy. This involves not the ideological excess that Moberg claims but a simple strategic shift. Steadily losing ground at home, labor chiefs made plans to spearhead an international business unionism and to reap the spoils of communism's collapse.

But the spoils have turned out to be rather meager. Indifferent to domestic organizing and obsessed with bureaucratic controls, labor leaders did nothing to stave off the approaching crisis. Meanwhile, venerable Cold War partners like Jeanne Kirkpatrick have predictably lost interest in labor's welfare, and client organizations abroad attract no stable memberships. The AFL-CIO desperately needs new leadership. Plenty of younger men and women (such as David Newby, president of Wisconsin's AFL-CIO) have the necessary energy and talent, but they continue to be "nobodies," while the likes of Albert Shanker—who has spent his career attacking Vietnam-style peaceniks, multiculturalists and the American Federation of Teachers' own democratic opposition—remain untouchable. The Old Hawks of 1968 would rather drag down the whole edifice than see themselves replaced. It would be a revolution, indeed, if things went any other way.

Paul Buhle
Providence, R.I.

Shootout

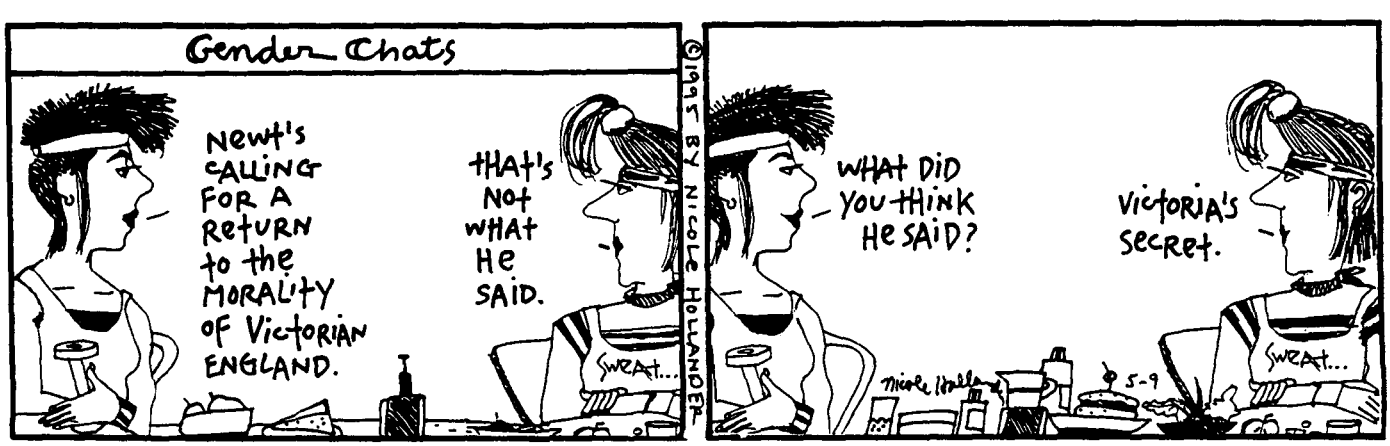
Scott McLemee's "High Noonan" (*ITT*, March 6) shows not just the death of conservatism but of laissez-faire generally. With her well-coiffed, placid demeanor, Peggy Noonan could be a model for Dagny Taggart in Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*. Her disagreement with Michael Lerner about allowing people the "freedom" to become what they want exposes the basic fallacy of the libertarian right. One has no "freedom" to achieve one's highest goals when all productive property is in a few private hands.

Noonan also represents an example of the current emphasis on "social revelation" rather than social revolution. This is why it's interesting that she chose to interview Lerner as an example of a "liberal." Lerner believes only in changing inner morality.

Noonan had no interviews with people who challenge the capitalist premise.

In her interview with Father Newhouse, she automatically accepted his premise that there is a god, quoting G.K. Chesterton about people who "believe in nothing falling for anything." This postulates atheism as

SYLVIA — by Nicole Hollander



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believing in "nothing." One point that McLemee didn't make is that the "market" has never had an equal competition between socialist ideas and capitalist ideas. The capitalist thieves of Ben Bagdikian's "Media Monopoly" have seen to that.

Charles Bateman
West Sacramento, Calif.

Money well spent

I am very sorry that letter writer Stewart Benedict of New York (*ITT*, February 20) felt that his donation to our California Health Security Act (Proposition 186) campaign was a waste of money.

Let me assure him and others who donated and raised funds that their efforts were not wasted. I was one of the thousands of people who hosted a house party to raise money for the Health Security Act. That effort was the largest grass-roots fund-raising effort ever for a state proposition.

That effort is still very much alive. There have been large statewide meetings and solicitations of ideas from thousands of supporters. The consensus is solid: We will try and try again until we win health care for everyone in California. Dozens of local and regional organizations are springing up right now in preparation for the next round.

We look to the north to Canada, where universal health care began with a provincial plan in Saskatchewan and then spread to become a national plan. That effort took 16 years. We must be prepared for a long fight.

But it is a fight that can, and will, be won. We can guarantee health care to everyone, regardless of employment, income or prior health problems, through a single-payer universal system.

We thank those like Mr. Benedict who donated their money to this effort and hope that he will be with us when we win this fight for everyone.

Robert Bernstein
Goleta, Calif.

Light vs. heat

The candidates' debate on school reform in Milwaukee (*ITT*, April 3) is an excellent primer in American politics. It is instructive to hear from two "life-long progressives" who obviously want something better for schoolchildren and who, moreover, are sensitive to the same general bundle of obstacles to school betterment—and yet disagree over basic issues of school reform.

John S. Gardner would get my vote any day. He digs behind the rhetoric of progressive politics to examine the here and now of children whose school problems are here and now. He is candid enough to expose his own economic and social status and the plans he has for his kids. He admits to an anti-religious bias—nothing to be proud of—and calls his local Jesuit school "elite"—a label that betrays some ignorance of Jesuit methods unless any good education is by definition "elite." Nevertheless, he comes down on the right side of the very hard question of party line. He speaks to heart and mind alike when he demands that the poor not be sacrificed to a party line.

Rose Daitsman clearly speaks from experience and does so in a way that touches the important elements of the school dilemma. I am sorry, though, that she adopts a somewhat shrill voice in wandering from one big problem to another. No doubt Milton Friedman and Charles Murray are mouthpieces for highly undesirable ideologies and rather disingenuous thinkers. Yet angrily insisting that such rhetoric is "tainted by the association with white supremacy" and "linked to a right-wing ideology" only serves to generate heat—not to shed any light. Daitsman's assertion that vouchers violate constitutional guarantees of church-state separation is quite lacking in nuance and, moreover, ignores the many instances in which the state lends financial support to religious institutions with the approval of the Supreme Court.

Any agenda—the progressive one perhaps more so than others, since it is, in my book, one grounded in good will, tolerance and emancipation for all—stands or falls on its sense of nuance and its ability to deal concretely with today's problems, not by ukase but by carefully achieved consensus in the best, democratic sense of the term. We need the ideals—such as those of John Dewey—cited by Daitsman to keep the flame of truth and purpose alive in our hearts and minds, but we also need cool consideration of today's facts if we are to be "the best and wisest parent[s]."

Channing Bates
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Editor's note: John S. Gardner won the April 4 election for the at-large seat on the Milwaukee School Board.

Unholy alliance?

Salim Muwakkil (*ITT*, March 20) joins Sens. Dole, Gramm and Helms and Speaker Gingrich in urging an end to affirmative action.

He considers it an utter failure—even though an authority he himself quotes, sociologist Bart Landry, has noted that before 1960 "the black middle class represented barely 13 percent of all black voters. In one decade, that number more than doubled." He attributes much of that jump to affirmative action.

He deplores the extension of affirmative action across race lines to include women. He seems utterly unaware that women have suffered discrimination in this country throughout its history.

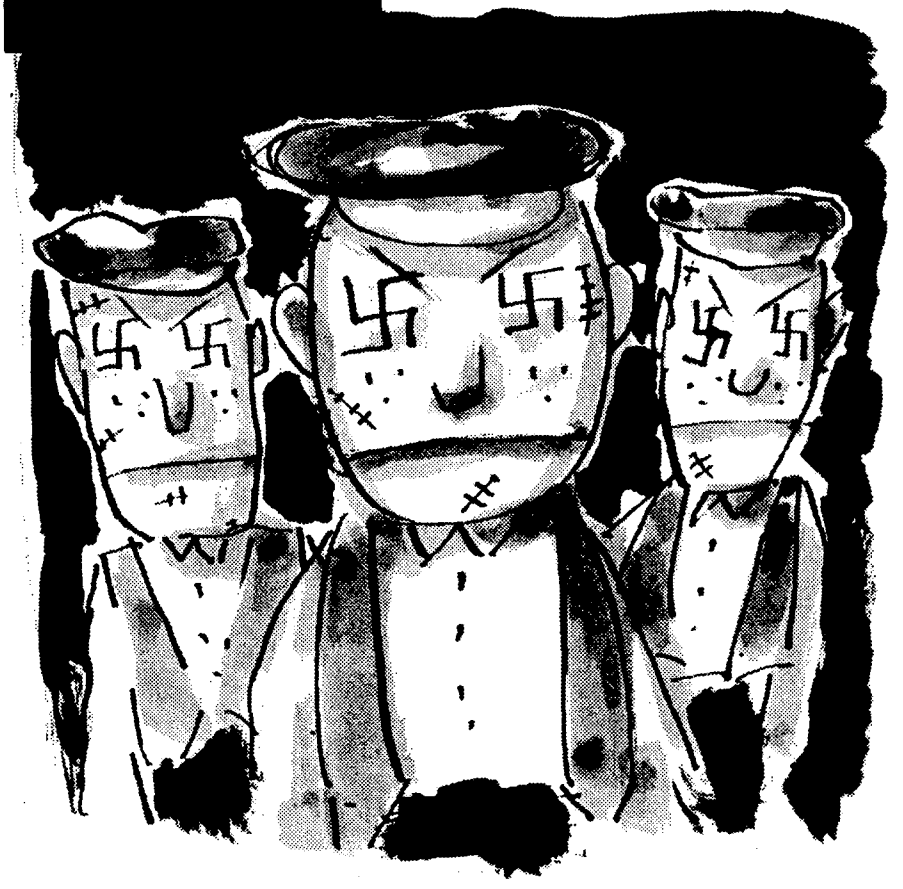
His attitude in this regard is directly opposite to that of Jesse Jackson, which he dismisses as a "tactical move" and an "evasion." On the contrary, it is an appropriate recognition of the interest women share with black Americans in affirmative action.

David C. Williams
Bethesda, Md.

Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you wish to say.

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InSHORT



BROWNSHIRTS AND RED HERRINGS

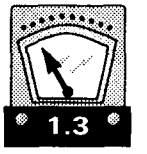
The emergence of a fascist-style politics in Russia is certainly not news. For a while now, classic fascist literature—including Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the anti-Semitic tract "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion"—has dominated numerous downtown Moscow bookstalls. And many of the vendors are young men in black uniforms bearing SS insignias and swastika armbands.

But the first clear official notice of the phenomenon didn't appear until this February, in a newspaper article by State Press Committee Chairman Sergei Gryzunov. "If anyone thinks there are no grounds for fascists or Nazis coming to power, let him compare Russia with the [pre-Hitler German] Weimar Republic," Gryzunov wrote. "In both cases we see the collapse of a great empire, collapse of production, inflation, growing unemployment, rightist



Tokyo roses

A pair of former cross-dressing TV comedians in Japan have done Ross Perot one better, capitalizing on the country's sour mood to



win the governorships of the Tokyo and Osaka prefectures, which contain the country's two largest cities. The new governor-elect of the Tokyo prefecture, Yukio Aoshima, first gained public attention playing the character of "Nasty Granny" in a popular '60s TV show; his counterpart, Osaka's "Knock" Yokoyama, at times did his comic routine in a tutu. Neither candidate campaigned actively for the post, the Associated Press reports, with Yokoyama traveling by bicycle to save on transportation costs. "I believe that for someone to win an election without campaigning may signal a crisis for parliamentary democracy," the president of the Nikkeiren business organization complained.

No pain, no gain

While liberal naysayers look on the Orange County bankruptcy as a distressing portent of things to come,

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Chris Norby is downright enthusiastic about the county's fiscal collapse. Norby, a candidate for the California State Assembly, sees it as a testing ground for "creative cutbacks" in county government. In a recent ad in *Reason* magazine, the California libertarian gushes that "the Orange County bankruptcy presents free market advocates a golden opportunity to privatize, downsize, contract and sell off government operations. ... Help us make Orange County an example to the rest of the nation on how to scale back big government." Coming soon: how to profit from the impending earthquake!



Freezer burn

Charity begins at home. "Kids save the animals," a nationwide contest co-sponsored by Nestlé and *Woman's Day* magazine, invites children ages 9 to14 to respond to two questions in 50 words or less: "Tell us what endangered animal you want to save the most and why," and "Tell us what you like the most about Nestlé Refrigerated Cookie Dough." No word on what to do if your budding environmentalist prefers peaches and cream.



APPALL-O-METER SCALE

1. Models Inc.-redible!
2. Infomercial irritating
3. Plausibly deniable
4. L.A.P.D. blue
5. Bob Dole-icious
6. Raoul Cédras-tic
7. Ollie North nasty
8. Holiday in Rwanda
9. Zhirinovskyesque
10. Where have you gone, Joe Goebbels?

propaganda in military and law enforcement structures, insecurity about the future, a weak government, the formation of rightist militarized organizations, and the flow of people to them from the army and the police, the unimpeded publication of the fascist and Nazi press. ... There are grounds for alarm, serious ones."

Yeltsin, apparently reacting to this warning, signed a decree in March ordering security services to move more decisively against groups that "fan the flames of social, racial, national and religious antagonism." But many of the country's democratic activists wonder if they should take the Russian president's pledges to combat fascism at face value.

According to the weekly *Obshaya Gazeta*, Russia has approximately 100 extremist groups of overt fascist orientation, with a total membership of 5,000. More than 150 free newspapers and periodicals advocate ideas associated with fascism.

The largest neo-fascist formation, Russian National Unity (RNU), headed by former Soviet special services officer Alexander Barkashov, uses a stylized swastika as its emblem; it reputedly has more than 1,000 members and vast financial resources. The group recently moved into posh new headquarters—just 300 meters from the main entrance to the Kremlin.

One RNU leader, Alexei Vedenkin, recently bragged in a televised interview that he was ready to personally execute Russian human rights commissioner Sergei Kovalyov and another leading critic of the war in Chechnya, parliamentary deputy Sergei Yushenkov. Vedenkin also claimed that 90 percent of RNU's members are agents of Russia's security services.

Vedenkin was subsequently arrested and charged—without official elaboration—with igniting ethnic hatred, threatening a person with murder, stealing documents and disclosing state secrets. Within a few days he was released, pending trial, and is currently running for a vacant State Duma seat in Moscow's Kolomensky district. If Vedenkin wins the May by-election, parliamentary immunity will shield him from further prosecution.

Critics of Yeltsin's March decree claim that it fails to single out the central danger to democracy—Russian nationalism. Instead, it seems chiefly to target non-Russian ethnic nationalists who threaten "the integrity of the Russian state" with demands for greater autonomy or independence from Moscow.

Increasingly, dark-skinned Asian and Caucasian people are replacing Jews as the scapegoat of choice in Russia. During the state of emergency in Moscow following the events of October 1993, police rounded up and deported some 10,000 Asian and Caucasian refugees and market traders—because they lacked Moscow resident permits. Hundreds reported being beaten and robbed by Moscow police and Interior Ministry troops.

"That was a pogrom, officially described as an anti-crime drive," says Andrei Kolganov, a leader of the democratic socialist Party of Labor. "This pogrom still continues. Perhaps not on such a big scale just now, but it remains a fixture of state policy."

In light of this record, some activists worry that Yeltsin's belated discovery of the fascist threat is a red herring, designed to deflect attention from many of the same tendencies within the Kremlin itself.

"The Yeltsin administration itself has been moving in [a fascist] direction and is feeding these very stirrings in our society," says Alexander Liberman, chairman of the Moscow Union of Councils, a human rights group. "Perhaps it is politically useful to declare the danger lies somewhere else entirely."

—Fred Weir

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CYBERBOSNIA

First thing every morning, Selma checks the electronic mailbox at the Medica Project for Victims of War Trauma, a peace group in the beleaguered Bosnian city of Zenica. "Zenica is cut off from the rest of the world," says the 21-year-old office manager. "But through e-mail, we are in contact with everybody."

The Medica Project is one of hundreds of organizations in Bosnia linked to ZaMir, a computer network hooked up to the global Internet system. ZaMir, which means "toward peace" in Serbo-Croatian, is the brainchild of two artists from the northern German city of Bielefeld who wanted to help overcome the information blockade across former Yugoslavia.

Its users, like the Medica Project, must first hook up with the central terminals in Sarajevo, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Skopje or Belgrade, which in turn are connected to a headquarters in Bielefeld. Every hour, the Bielefeld nerve center automatically dials the foreign terminals, collecting messages that it then promptly forwards to their addresses, which could be on other continents or just a few miles from their senders over otherwise impenetrable front lines.

Through ZaMir, Medica keeps in daily touch with like-minded women's groups, hospitals in Germany and aid groups along the Croatian coast. "But sometimes I just e-mail New York or Paris to ask about the newest fashion or prices," explains Selma. "I say: 'We are all alone here, we are desperate, can you give us some small information about what normal people are doing?' "

In besieged Sarajevo, where telephone lines are severed and the postal system inoperative, hundreds of families use ZaMir to keep in touch with loved ones abroad. The cost of e-mailing San Francisco from Sarajevo is no more than a local call. The ZaMir center in Sarajevo runs off its own generator to circumvent regular electricity cuts.

"The idea first came to us in summer 1991, when direct telephone lines between Croatia and Serbia were cut," explains Vesna Jankovic, a prominent peace activist and editor of Croatia's oppositional newspaper *Arkzin*. "Since then, Zamir has grown and grown. Now it's hard to think of working without it."

ZaMir has been an immense help to activists monitoring human rights in Croatia and Serbia, something that pleases neither Croatian President Franjo Tudjman nor Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. "It's so important because of the nature of the regimes under which we are living," says Jankovic. "Tudjman and Milosevic are trying to isolate their countries from the world. This is a brilliant way to break through that isolation."

—Paul Hockenos

CITY COLLEGE TRY

On the morning of April 12, several dozen City University of New York (CUNY) students began a sit-in and hunger strike at City College's North Academic Complex—the latest in a series of demonstrations and direct actions undertaken to protest impending state and city cuts in public education. New York Gov. George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the Republican duo responsible for the proposed cuts, have reacted to the student protests by bringing out the cops. By midnight, 60 New York

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Child neglect

After deliberating for more than a year, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has finally put the official stamp on what parents already know: TV stations have failed to deliver the quality kids programming that the Children's Television Act of 1990 requires. A majority of commissioners endorsed the FCC's proposal for tighter regulations to enforce the act, which mandates broadcasters to carry educational programs for kids and to limit ads on kids' shows. At the April 5 FCC meeting, Commissioner Susan Ness announced her disappointment, after months of meetings with television broadcasters, at finding "a distinct lack of enthusiasm and sincere commitment" to educational and informational shows for kids.

The FCC is now proposing rules to define the "educational and informational" standard more clearly, and possibly to set guidelines for broadcasters of appropriate times of day to broadcast kids' shows and a minimum number of hours a week for them to air. One FCC proposal is to allow stations in the same market to buy and sell some of their kidvid hours. Children's advocates, like those at the Center for Media Education are crying foul, insisting that all broadcasters should perform their own public interest obligations.

Art attack

Freedom of artistic expression is under intensified assault, according to a survey, *Artistic Freedom under Attack 1995*, issued by People for the American Way (2000 M St.,

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Times article recorded the elation of lobbyist Jerry Jasinowski of the National Association of Manufacturers, who praised Congress' continued "move in the direction of radical change."

The point of the Senate bill—and its House companion (which passed overwhelmingly last month)—is to enshrine in law the spirit of Reagan's "train-wreck strategy." In line with that strategy, Reagan appointees refused to enforce federal regulations—a move that resulted in legal gridlock when environmentalists, consumer advocates and others promptly sued the agencies. Under the new measure, all rule-making will be subject to more frequent review and will have to satisfy extremely strict and scientifically dubious analytical criteria.

For example, S 343 would require federal agencies to demonstrate that the benefits of major regulations outweigh their costs, and that those benefits must be greater than those of any "reasonable alternative." Almost any pretext could be used to challenge the regulations in court or before peer-review panels that will likely be staffed by industry employees. The bill makes no provision for ensuring that parties with a financial interest in the peer-review process are excluded from the panels.

Worst of all will be the cost. Agencies will be required to review existing rules within seven years and new rules every five years. And if a rule is not reviewed within the appointed time, it simply expires. And that's the payoff for big business and its congressional cronies—in an era of slashed budgets federal regulators will be running to stand still.

college, where he studied chemistry, he became a leader of the student movement that fought against the military dictatorship. Because of Choi's ongoing political activity, his father, a former general, was forced to close his business selling supplies to the military.

After the declaration of martial law in 1979, Choi began organizing pro-democracy demonstrations. He was arrested and ended up serving five and a half years in prison. In jail his nickname was Plastic Man, since he was the only political prisoner who never lost consciousness while being beaten with baseball bats during interrogations.

Placed in solitary confinement, Choi arranged for Amnesty International to send him environmental books from around the world. Prison officials did not view the books as political, and he ended up reading some 250 to 300 of them. When he was finally released from prison in the early '80s, he helped found the Korean Antipollution Organization, the country's first environmental group.

The organization led a fight against toxic poisoning in the coastal city of Onsan, eventually forcing the government to evacuate some 10,000 affected residents. They also staged protests against the industrial dumping of 3,000 tons of phenol in the Naktong River that poisoned the water supply for millions of people in the southeast region of the country.

Citizen protests against environmental abuses were a key factor in mobilizing Korea's citizens for the pro-democracy street battles of 1987 and 1988 that brought down the military dictatorship and opened the way for national elections in 1992. Still, the military-industrial cabal that has run South Korea for more than four decades is slow to surrender power to newly established democratic institutions. Government-backed industrialization and development plans are implemented without citizen input, and pushed through with great haste under the banner of "globalization."

"What took 200 years in Europe has happened here in South Korea in 30 years," Choi says. "For example, in 1965 we had 40,000 cars in Korea; now we have 7 million. Our population has gone from 75 percent rural farmers to 15 percent in that same 30 years. Seoul has grown to 11 million and has some of the worst air pollution in the world. Our country once had the clearest water, but now we cannot even drink our tap water because it's no longer safe."

A visit to the smog-shrouded, traffic-clogged urban industrial zones around the capital confirms Choi's description. With its multistory golf ranges, miles of polluted black rivers and block after block of overlapping high-rise housing complexes and smokestack factories, Seoul looks like a city of the future—a future that you are thankful you will not be alive to inhabit.

Still, Choi, the father of a 13-year-old daughter, remains hopeful that things can change for the better. "When we talked about the environmental issue 15 years ago, nobody showed any interest except the police who would follow and arrest us," he recalls. "Now when I give talks my audiences include grandmas, grandpas, college students, people working for factories and companies."

"What's most important," he continues, "is that we have a healthy environment and a philosophy that people should be close to nature, that they should have a relationship with the natural world. The 20th century was an age of consumption. I hope the next generation, my daughter's generation, will know a more saving age of conservation."

—David Helvarg

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THE FIRST STONE

CANCER POLITICS

By Joel Bleifuss

Between 1993 and 1998, cancer victims will buy $3.3 billion worth of the cancer drug Taxol from Bristol-Myers Squibb, according to projections made last fall by the investment bank Morgan Stanley. That is a pretty good return on a drug that was developed, not by Bristol-Myers Squibb, but by the taxpayer-funded National Cancer Institute.

At current rates, one in three Americans will develop cancer, and one in four will die from it. Consequently, cancer is big business. Each year the stricken spend about $100 billion treating the disease. With that kind of money at stake, it is not surprising that corporate interests, which take in much of that $100 billion, have successfully come to control the National Cancer Institute. Nor is it surprising that members of the "cancer community"—as the interested parties refer to themselves—spend little time figuring out ways to prevent cancer but instead put almost all of their resources into finding a miraculous treatment.

James Love, the director of the Taxpayer Assets Project, a Nader organization, explained to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs last July how Bristol-Myers Squibb acquired Taxol. Love testified that Taxol "was the product of decades of federal research into the cancer-fighting properties of natural substances." He pointed out that the National Cancer Institute (i.e. the federal government) paid for all the pre-clinical research on Taxol and for a large number of the clinical trials. In addition, the National Cancer Institute paid a private contractor to develop the manufacturing process through which the drug is produced. Then, after this huge investment, the institute in 1991 gave Bristol-Myers Squibb the exclusive right to sell Taxol.

When the government turned Taxol over to Bristol-Myers Squibb, the company was required to sign a "fair pricing" agreement. Such agreements stipulate that all corporations that market drugs developed by the National Cancer Institute sell them for an undefined "fair price." According to Love, Bristol-Myers Squibb sells Taxol to the public for $4.87 per milligram, which is more than 20 times what it costs to produce. For some cancer victims, the total price of Taxol treatment exceeds $10,000.

But Bristol-Myers Squibb no longer has to worry about the "fair pricing" clause ever being enforced. On April 11, President Bill Clinton gave his friends in the pharmaceutical industry a gift they had long been clamoring for—he abolished the "fair pricing" rule.

Love also mentioned that Bristol-Myers Squibb sells 11 of the 34 cancer drugs that have been developed with funding from the National Cancer Institute. So how does a company that has never invented a cancer drug become the largest seller of cancer drugs in the world? "They have a good government relations department," Love told *In These Times*.

The company also receives help in other ways. Richard Gelb, the chairman of the board at Bristol-Myers Squibb, is also on the board of the Memorial Sloan/Kettering Cancer Center in New York. Sloan/Kettering does lots of research for the National Cancer Institute, and consequently Gelb has access to inside information about which clinical drug tests show promise, and which ones are failing. And Sloan/Kettering's clinical trials on Taxol showed promise.

Further, Gelb has apparently helped protect Bristol-Myers Squibb from unfavorable media coverage. *In These Times* has learned, from a source who asked to remain nameless, that a *New York Times* editor has deemed stories about Bristol-Myers Squibb's highly profitable relationship with the National Cancer Institute as not fit to print. Oddly enough, Gelb happens to be a member of the New York Times corporate board.

The National Cancer Institute, the federal agency that sets the country's cancer policy, was founded in 1937 as part of the National Institutes of Health. Robert Proctor explores the National Cancer Institute's fealty to corporate America in his just-released book, *Cancer Wars—How Politics Shapes What We Know & Don't Know About Cancer* (Basic Books). He describes how the institute undermined its own Environmental Cancer Section, which was founded and directed by Wilhelm Hueper. Proctor writes, "For three or four decades in the middle of this century [Hueper] was the most powerful American champion of the view that increased exposure to industrial chemicals was producing unprecedented levels of cancer."

In the '30s Hueper worked for Du Pont, where he investigated the toxic effects of that company's chemicals on workers. But his research was too successful. Du Pont fired him in 1937, and then persecuted him for the rest of his life. In the '40s a top-level Du Pont researcher accused the German-born Hueper of being a Nazi. In the '50s, the same official reported that Hueper was a communist.

Despite opposition from industry, Hueper's groundbreaking work in the field of occupational and environmental carcinogens propelled him, in 1948, into the directorship

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of the National Cancer Institute's fledgling Environmental Cancer Section. But once Hueper assumed that position, his work was undermined by a steady stream of corporate-orchestrated attacks. For example, in 1960 he discovered that his scientific papers, which he had presented to the National Institutes of Health for agency clearance, were being secretly passed on to Du Pont for further comment and analysis. In 1964, on the day Hueper retired, the National Cancer Institute abolished its Environmental Cancer Section and dismantled the library he had worked years to establish.

Since then, the National Cancer Institute has ignored the threat posed by environmental carcinogens. As Samuel Epstein, a professor of environmental medicine at the University of Chicago, has pointed out, "less than 5 percent of the National Cancer Institute's $2 billion annual budget is spent on prevention, despite strong evidence that we can cut cancer rates by simply reducing avoidable exposure to carcinogens in our air, water, food, consumer products and workplace."

In order to justify its continuing emphasis on treatment rather than prevention, the cancer establishment has to demonstrate that the $25 billion the government has poured into research since the National Cancer Act was passed in 1970 has had a positive effect. To that end, the National Cancer Institute and its corporate allies in the cancer industry have gone to great lengths to promote the belief that the war on cancer is slowly and surely being won.

In January, the National Coalition for Cancer Research, an organization created by pharmaceutical companies and cancer research centers, kicked off a "Research Cures Cancer" campaign to lobby Congress for more money for the National Cancer Institute. The campaign is being run by the Washington public relations firm of Fox, Bennett and Turner.

In February, the *Journal of the National Cancer Institute* featured an editorial by Philip Cole, an epidemiologist, that heralded the "decline in cancer mortality" that has come about as the result of "improvements in cancer treatment." In particular, Cole pointed to research by National Cancer Institute epidemiologist Susan Devesa, published in that same issue, which he said indicates that "we are at a turning point" and that "early in the new century, cancer's primacy will fade."

Cole, an apologist for smokeless tobacco, is an industry hack. Amy Poe reports in *Metroland*, an Albany, N.Y., weekly, that in addition to penning editorials for the National Cancer Institute, Cole is also writing a cancer manual for the American Council on Science and Health, a New York-based outfit that publishes scientific propaganda defending corporate polluters.

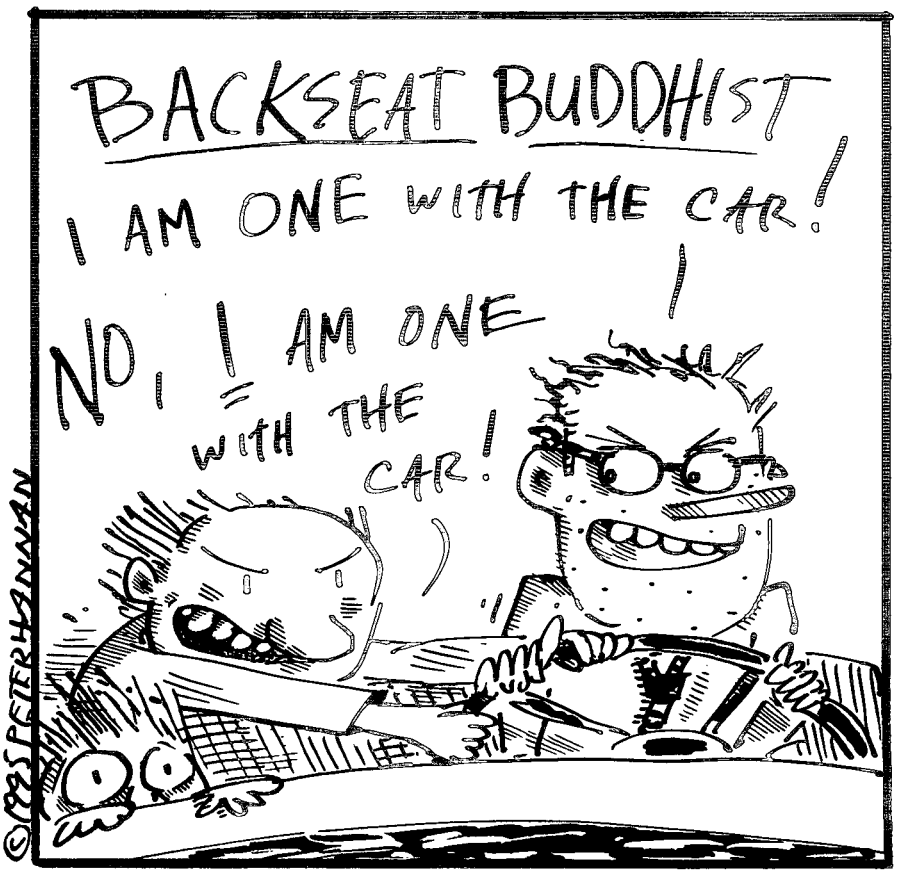
Nevertheless, Cole's editorial was picked up by *New York Times* consumer reporter Jane Brody, who passed on the good news that cancer was on the decline. Brody relied on Cole's editorial spin, which in turn was based on a very selective interpretation of Devesa's research. Rick Weiss recently reported in the *Washington Post* that Devesa herself disagrees with Cole's assertion that her study demonstrated that the cancer war was being won. "That sounds great, but it is not that simple," she told Weiss.

Cole and Brody failed to mention that Devesa's research details mysterious increases in the incidence of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, kidney cancer, testicular cancer, certain types of breast cancer, brain cancer among people under 35 and childhood leukemia, among others. Her report says that these unexplained increases "may reflect changing exposures to carcinogens yet to be identified and clarified."

Other researchers believe that the rising incidence of such cancers is related to human exposure to environmental pollutants that act as endocrine disruptors. Consequently, some cancer victims are now demanding that the government rethink its research priorities. ◀

Next issue: breast cancer battles.

THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH by Peter Hannan



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FASHION

The shape of things to come

The fashion industry is setting out to redesign the female body—from top to bottom.

By Katharine Greider

Last May, after an impressive promotional buildup, the first batch of Wonderbras arrived at Macy's Manhattan store in an armored truck. A caravan of guards and a large brass band bore an oversized box of the cleavage-enhancing brassieres through the store's Broadway entrance and along its main corridor, finally reaching the appointed place for the ribbon-cutting. There, a set of twins—one sporting a Wonderbra, the other not—showed customers what a little engineering could do. "It was a whole cloak-and-dagger kind of thing," recalls Carolyn Moss, fashion director of the ready-to-wear department at Macy's.

Like the toys advertised in the comic books you read as a kid, the Wonderbra fascinates partly because of the sheer implausibility of its purportedly miraculous properties. Like x-ray glasses and Sea Monkeys, these fussy undergarments with their fantastical names—Gossard's Super-Uplift, It Must Be Magic—promise more than they can possibly deliver. Yet there is a part of you that half believes the promises anyway.

When, my curiosity piqued, I finally tried one on, there was no magic about it. I felt like one of those calendar dogs who stare forlornly into the camera, solemn in their mortification at being posed in a sailor suit or some such atrocity. The Wonderbra did not give me cleavage. It only protruded ridiculously from my chest, as stiff and crusty as the spun sugar on an old wedding cake.

Why, then, have the Wonderbra and its bust-enhancing ilk been such a sensation? As the Intimate Apparel Council's Dotti Keagy points out, push-ups offer a safe alternative to breast implants, "the look without the surgery." But this doesn't explain why the busty "look" so appeals in the first place. "I think women feel freer to have a more overt expression of their femininity than many have in the last two decades," a spokeswoman for Maidenform suggests. "I think, as women enter the workforce in greater and greater numbers and at every level, that changes the kind of clothing people feel comfortable wearing." The new suits for fall are tight and curvy, just the thing to wear over bust-enhancing undergarments—and they, too, it is said, are an expression of women's newfound freedom. "Thank God it's perhaps the end of the politically correct era," Christian Lacroix recently told one fashion mag. "At last everyone can be him- or herself."

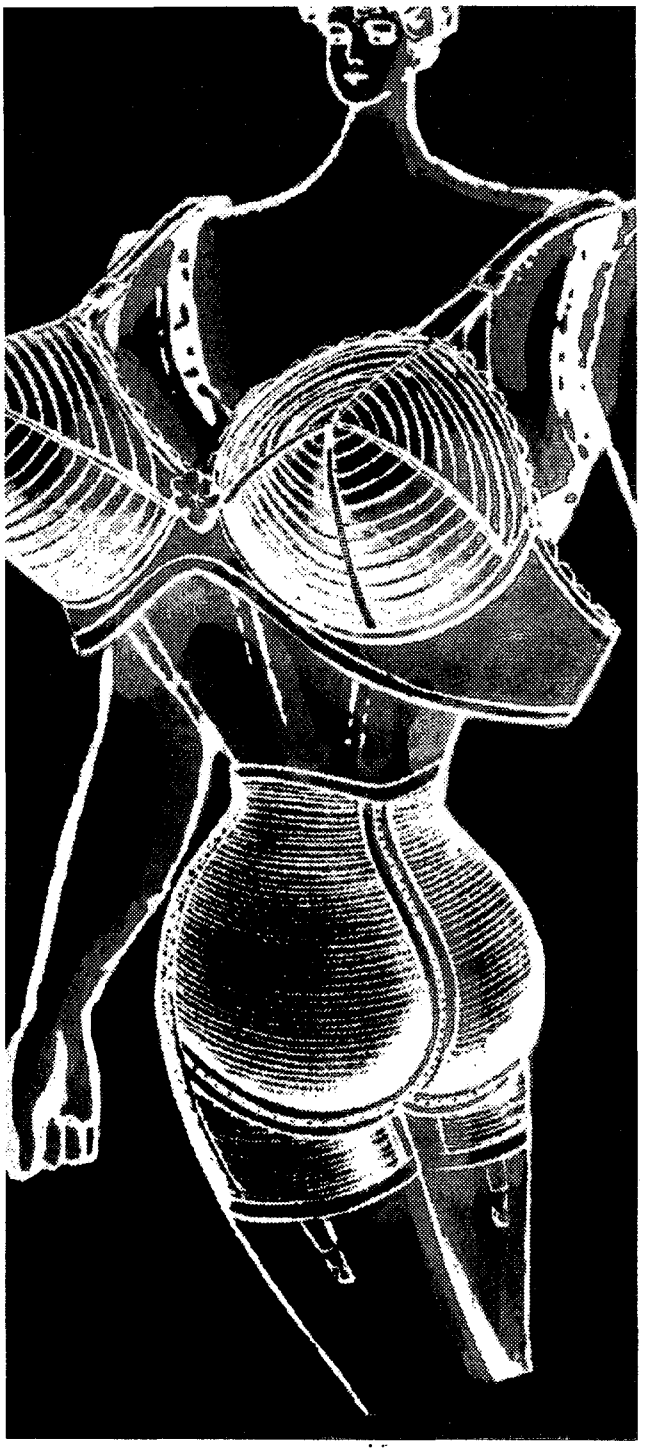
Despite media reports of feverish women descending on Wonderbra displays, the bra's success is more a testimony to clever packaging than a response to clamorous demand. Many of the very same bras that are making news today have been available for years. A company called Gossard has been peddling the Wonderbra in Europe and the United Kingdom without much fanfare since the '60s. Gossard sells the bra under license from a company that joined with Sara Lee Foundations, the bra's current maker. "The padded push-up has always been around," says Karyn Monget of *Women's Wear Daily*. "[Sara Lee] just had the megabucks to promote it."

In 1994, the year of the Wonderbra's U.S. debut, Sara Lee Foundations increased its ad budget by 40 percent. The company's PR people skillfully whipped up media hype—the bra was thrice mentioned by name in *People* magazine—with carefully staged publicity stunts. Other companies, sensing a great opportunity, threw their own bras in the ring. Neiman-Marcus played videos in their stores instructing customers on how to wear cleavage-enhancing bras. Victoria's Secret and others introduced their own versions or stepped up promotional efforts for

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already existing product lines—see, for example, Maidenform's current "Lift your Spirits" sweepstakes.

Recently, the Council of Fashion Designers of America honored Wonderbra's maker for its impressive contribution to American fashion. "To those of us in the fashion industry," said the council's gleeful announcement, "the success of the Wonderbra made sense. Designers had returned to glamour on the runways, with a focus on cleavage. Suddenly, corsets were back. Women realized that their bodies could have shape again." Or, rather, that they could *be* shaped and reshaped with each new fashion season.



©PETER HANNAN

No one was more excited by this prospect than the makers and sellers of intimate apparel, whose business had been relatively lackluster. In October 1993, 14.4 percent of the total spent on bras in department stores went for push-ups; a year later, that percentage had risen to 20.6 percent, according to the NPD Group, a market research firm in Port Washington, N.Y. The total amount spent on bras increased 18 percent from 1991 to 1994, jumping from $2.4 billion to $2.9 billion. Maidenform reports that its old cleavage enhancers have been selling at five times the usual rate since the inception of Wonderbra Madness.

It was writer Sarah Mower who touched off the Wonderbra's ascension to greatness. She casually mentioned the bra in a 1991 article in *British Vogue* after discovering one in a dusty corner of a British lingerie shop. "It had such a fabulously kitschy name: The Gossard Wonderbra. Perfect!" Mower later wrote. "I amused myself mildly with the thought of giving the Wonderbra some sort of second outing. ... Anyway, I'm over that now."

But it was too late to put the genie back in the bottle. At the end of 1993, Gossard's license to make the bra lapsed and Sara Lee snapped it back up, launching a series of risqué ads featuring a very bosomy model wearing only a bra and panties, with the tag lines "Look me in the eyes and tell me you love me," "Or are you just glad to see me?" and other such teasers. Gossard struck back with a new push-up of its own; a British ad for that bra showed a woman pulling tissue from another's brassiere. "Knocks the stuffing out of ordinary bras," the ad's text read. The Bra Wars, as Mower called them, were on.

The advertisers were prepared for controversy. "We expect some adverse comment," one account director told *Adweek*, "for the simple reason that there are a minority who mistake sexy for sexist." To defuse feminist objections, the ad firm that put together the U.K.'s Wonderbra campaign stressed the fact that the ads were designed by women.

American ads have certainly exploited the less-than-subtle suggestion that gentlemen prefer boobs. But they have also taken pains to present push-ups as an emblem of the modern woman's freedom to be her sexy, feminine self. In a Wonderbra ad, a model thrusts her snowy bosom at the camera, a come-hither glint in her eyes; the tag line reads, "Who cares if it's a bad hair day?" But Maidenform reassures customers, "No matter what they think, you wear it for the lift it gives your spirits." Another push-up bra bears the label: "You'll feel self-confident, in control, sexy, beautiful." Leaving aside whether or not these bras actually produce cleavage, much less self-confidence, the general message is that the two go together.

Women wear bras all day, every day, and what they want more than anything is not cleavage but comfort. In a survey conducted by EDK Associates, a market analysis firm specializing in female consumers, 36 percent of women said

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buying lingerie is a "sexy pick-me-up," but nearly all said they would choose comfort over sexiness. Seventy-eight percent said their first consideration is comfort, even when dressing for a night on the town. More than half of the women surveyed said they thought bra ads were sexist, and three-quarters thought the ads sold sexiness from a male point of view.

Nevertheless, complaints about the bra have been few. Perhaps that's because the bras haven't become a required element of the feminine uniform; on the contrary, push-up bras are still something of a novelty. Women can ignore them with impunity or buy them simply for the fun of it. Women's magazines have certainly devoted attention to the trend, but have leavened their coverage with a sense of the absurd. "When you take off this bra, you hang up your boobs," one *Mirabella* tester wisecracked about an $80 lace number.

The apparel industry is less inclined to joke. The plan now is to strike while the iron is hot with "bustier and corset looks, long-line Merry Widows for hip control and novelty items such as push-up bras with padded straps to define the shoulders," according to a recent story in the March issue of *Women's Wear Daily*. That harmless little Wonderbra "didn't just create wonderful numbers" for its makers, says Roberta Elins of New York's Fashion Institute of Technology. "They created a category, one that's not been around for a long time, and that is seemingly expanding to other body parts." The category is called shapewear: underwear that reconfigures the body.

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I have seen the future—and friends, it is scary: pantyhose that, in the slightly abashed words of their promoter, "lift and separate" the buttocks. "As women (and men!) celebrate the return of femininity in all its glory, Vanity Fair Intimate Legwear emerges as a beautiful complement to nature" that "does for the derriere what the push-up bra did for the bustline," trumpets one press release. "No one has focused on bottoms, with the Wonderbra and all of the bust-boosting hype," designer Nancy Ganz complained to *Women's Wear Daily*. "We now need to get the interest going in bottoms."

If push-up bra ads have tried to get across the idea that larger-than-life breasts are the ideal, makers and marketers of shapewear will have to push a far nastier message about women's bodies: that our butts and thighs and bellies are ugly. To remedy this, we will be offered underthings touted as "liposuction without the surgery," products with trademarked names like Tummy Terminator, Thigh Tamer and Waist Eliminator (really). Even the traditional home of comfort-first underwear, Jockey For Her, introduced a "Sculptures Bodyshaping Collection" in March. "From daringly bare nightwear to the retro-revival day dress, slip into the season's shapely styles without a care—or another trip to the gym!" shrieks Jockey's promotional release.

I asked Ethel Klein, president of EDK Associates, if clever marketing can get American women to wear body-shapers. Her reply: "Not if they're not comfortable." Whatever manufacturers may claim about the new stretch fabrics, that which moves flesh to where it does not incline to go eventually causes discomfort if not outright pain. The Fashion Institute's Elins guesses older women who remember girdles will resist, though the young may be convinced of their novelty. "I think whether a woman will buy something that is not comfortable has a lot to do with her age and her politics—her feminist politics," she says.

Not long ago I visited the lingerie department at Macy's to look for a sign or, perhaps, to divine a mood. The corset shop I had read about—it opened last fall—was nowhere to be found, and as yet, there wasn't much in the way of shapewear.

I located the Wonderbra and a few other push-ups displayed together in a small section of their own. There a couple furtively fingered the cups of the Wonderbras, whispered, and slunk back and forth to the dressing room. A British woman read the slogan on the wall—"one *little* push"—and joked to her friend, "Couldn't they make it one big push for me?" "Oh, you poor girl," the friend murmured fondly.

Then two young American women zeroed in on the new Wonderbra swimwear with obvious interest. They pulled at the stretchy fabric and squeezed the padding at the bust. "Look at that *print*," one said in disgust. "I might as well buy a one-piece girdle, 'cause that's what they look like," the other replied. And off they went, as briskly and purposefully as they had come. ◀

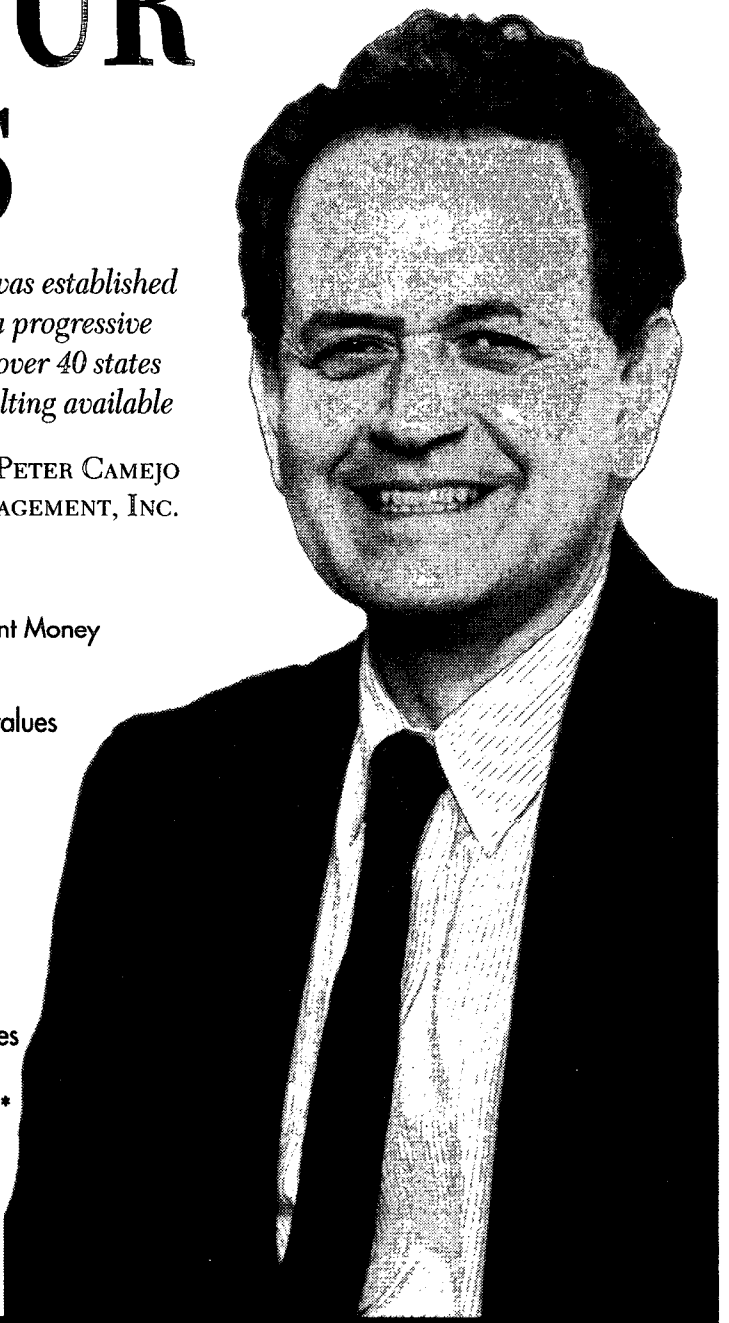
Katharine Greider is a writer living in New York.

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UNIONS

Cleaning house

Justice for Janitors is bringing fresh ideas—and new members—to America's labor movement.

By Zack Nauth
WASHINGTON

On Pennsylvania Ave., across the street from the offices of one of Washington's biggest landlords, dozens of helmeted police officers, their clubs drawn, corraled 200 peaceful, chanting demonstrators. A heavy plate-glass door shattered as the police chased a woman into it. Another demonstrator twisted and writhed as six officers dragged him toward a fleet of paddy wagons parked nearby.

Middle-aged men in suits and women in dresses looked around uneasily as the police carried off one demonstrator after another, many still brandishing signs and chanting slogans. Well-compensated bureaucrats and office workers from labor's conservative center, the AFL-CIO headquarters a few blocks away, stood shoulder-to-shoulder with their counterparts on labor's most militant wing: janitors from El Salvador and Pittsburgh, union organizers from Guatemala and Milwaukee.

What brought these unlikely comrades together in mid-March for a five-hour ordeal of handcuffs and jail time?

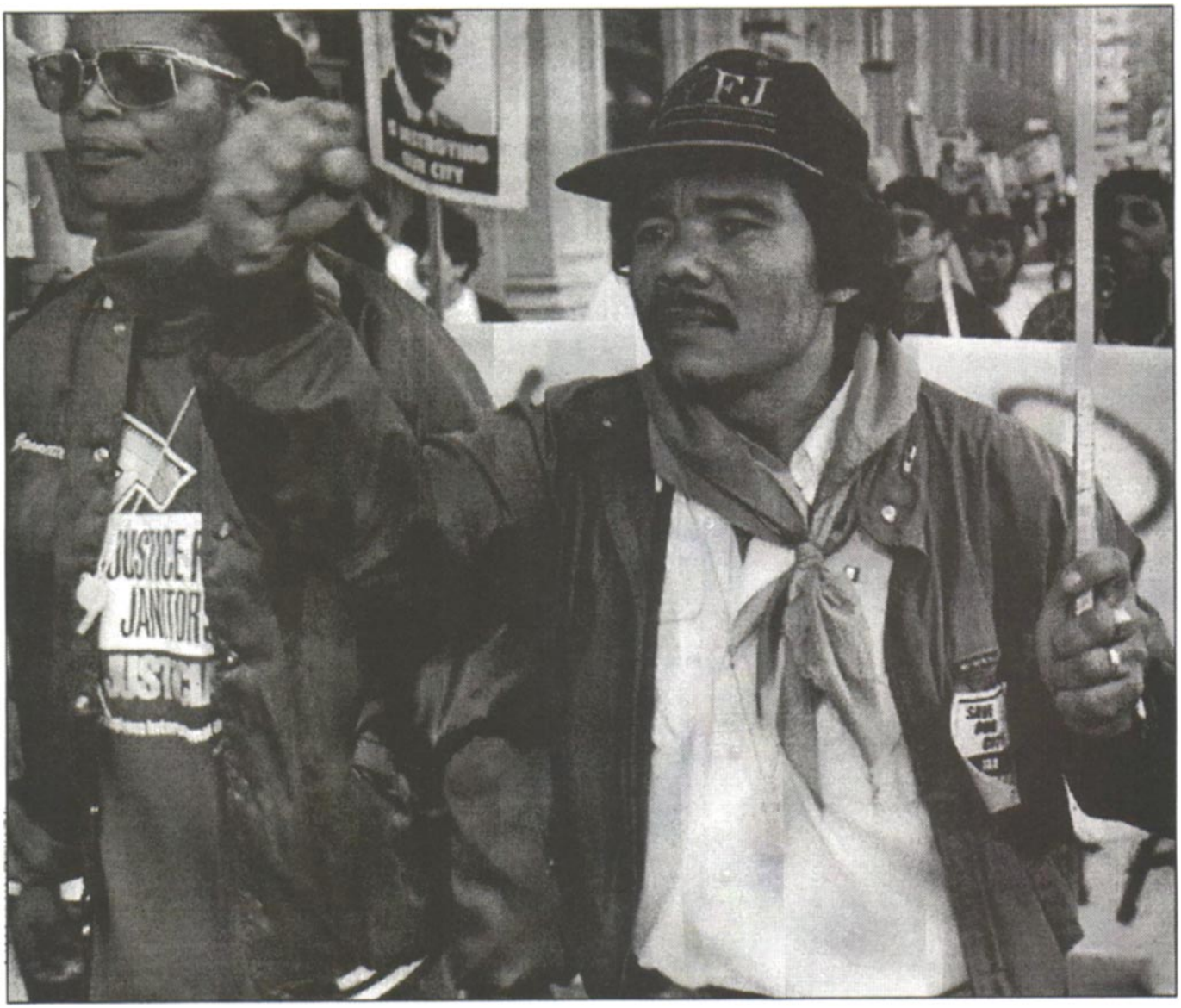
The march and the rush-hour sit-down action were the work of "Justice for Janitors," an innovative organizing campaign of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). The protest, part of an eight-year campaign to organize Washington's janitors, targeted prominent building owner Oliver Carr, who has been reaping multimillion-dollar tax breaks in the midst of the District of Columbia's budget crisis. Carr also hires nonunion cleaning contractors, who in turn employ hundreds of the city's poorest residents to do dirty, difficult work at minimum wages with part-time hours and no benefits.

As the city wrestled with its fiscal crisis, the janitors' union staged a week-long mobilization, during which it tested new direct-action strategies and schooled 200 organizers in Justice for Janitors' in-your-face tactics. Co-sponsors included the Hotel & Restaurant Employees union (HERE) and the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute. The sponsors hope the week's activities will set an example that the AFL-CIO

The numbers, by now, are familiar. Union membership, as a percentage of the U.S. workforce, peaked at 35 percent in 1954 and has declined ever since. Today only 16 percent of public and private sector workers belong to unions, and just 11 percent of private employees are organized. A 1992 study estimated that in the future American labor, just to maintain its current density, will have to organize over 320,000 workers per year—more than seven times the 43,000 workers who now join unions each year. This decline has had disastrous repercussions for all lower- and middle-income families in the United States, nonunion as well as union. The explosive rise in part-time and temporary employment, expanding income inequality and the deepening of social ills all have links to labor's descent. With unions speaking for fewer people, labor's political voice has faded and big business increasingly shapes public policy with a free hand.

Despite these depressing facts, many union organizers remain hopeful. They insist that labor's critical condition has opened space for bold new initiatives: from the Justice for Janitors campaign, which has revolutionized union organizing in America, to the AFL-CIO's Organizing Institute, which is training a new generation of labor activists. Over the next several months, In These Times *will publish a series of articles examining the innovative ideas and strategies that are already revitalizing the American labor movement.*

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Janitors protesting outside the Washington offices of real-estate developer Oliver Carr.

and other mainstream unions cannot ignore.

The missionary zeal of the Justice for Janitors organizers is understandable: Founded a decade ago, it is now the most successful organizing campaign among service industry workers in the private sector. And, remarkably, it has succeeded among a workforce that other unions have failed to reach—part-time, low-income workers, predominantly African-Americans and Spanish-speaking immigrants, who hold jobs at the bottom of the U.S. economy. As organized labor continues its seemingly inexorable slide into irrelevance, the "J for J" model—which has won new contracts and registered impressive membership gains—looks increasingly attractive.

Like many other private sector workers whose unions have declined, janitors once enjoyed strong organization. During the '40s, the SEIU's building services division claimed a strong hold on most major cities. But by the late '70s, membership was on the skids. Ranks thinned as building owners contracted janitorial work out to low-bidding nonunion maintenance firms, who hired immigrants and African-Americans at rock-bottom wages. But while the industrial workforce shrank, the number of janitors was surging: 3 million janitors were employed in the United States by the early '90s—more than all the country's autoworkers and steelworkers combined.

In 1985, alarmed by the decline in wages and working conditions, the SEIU began to fight back. When building owners in Pittsburgh demanded that workers take a pay cut, the International supported the local in an aggressive, community-wide campaign that eventually proved victorious. That year, with new Organizing Director Andy Stern and a new director of organizing for the Building Services Division, Stephen Lerner, the SEIU adopted a rebuilding program and launched a campaign to organize janitors in Denver. The union refined the militant tactics it had used in Pittsburgh. By the end of the drive, the SEIU had organized

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a majority of Denver's janitors. "Justice for Janitors," the slogan of the Denver struggle, became a full-fledged national campaign.

Justice for Janitors uses strategies—like the sit-down strike—made famous during labor's golden age in the '30s, and combines them with the nonviolent tactics of the civil rights movement. J for J molds them into a simple formula: The disruption of business as usual, plus moral authority, equals change. But this approach often runs into legal obstacles. For example, the time-honored tactic of warehouse workers refusing to handle the goods of a company whose employees were on strike, has—like many other successful union strategies—been outlawed by Congress, the courts and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). So, J for J has been forced to be creative.

The campaign rejects the standard organizing method most unions now use: site-by-site NLRB-supervised elections. Lerner, who now works with the Organizing Institute and other labor groups, says, "The boss was right—our strategy was stupid: 'Join the union, lose your job.' " Indeed, one in four companies facing an organizing drive unlawfully fires employees. Even when unions win NLRB elections—and they win only 50 percent—employers often avoid negotiating first contracts. Justice for Janitors organizers liken the NLRB to a black hole that sucks in the union's time, stalls momentum and eventually bores workers to death. Worse, they claim, many members feel that the often lengthy proceedings that accompany an NLRB election only underscore the union's weakness. Consequently, when Justice for Janitors organizes a workplace, it insists the company agrees to simultaneously recognize the union and negotiate a contract.

Other unions prefer the NLRB strategy because it's more predictable: set an election and win or lose on that date. But J for J organizers dig in for the long haul, with a high-profile, multifaceted pressure campaign. Their tactics include street theater, quickie unfair labor-practice strikes (which even nonunion employees are allowed to hold), corporate campaigns, regulatory challenges, community coalitions, boycotts and disruption of production through direct action and nonviolent civil disobedience. The latter strategy is key: The union's principal tactic is to "physically interfere with the ability of companies to operate, produce and deliver goods and services ... unless they settle disputes that stem from anti-worker action," Lerner has written in a strategy paper. Another key is to build the union as a vehicle for social justice that takes on issues of common concern to workers, their families and the community. Workers can then be motivated by more than narrow self-interest.

The union's gains have been impressive. In its 10-year existence—a period of general decline for the labor movement—the Justice for Janitors campaign has organized an estimated 35,000 net new members. It now claims a total membership of 205,000, representing a fifth of all custodians working for private companies in the United States.

The janitors have made the greatest headway in Los Angeles County, where the union has gone from representing 30 percent to 80 percent of the workforce over the last five years. On March 31, following a series of escalating direct actions, workers signed a countywide contract that for the first time gave them full family medical benefits—an enormous achievement at a time when even manufacturing and white-collar workers are losing health benefits. The contract—the second the SEIU obtained after gaining control of the industry—also brought all janitors earning minimum wage up to the downtown rate of $6.80 an hour.

The union has conducted other successful campaigns in Milwaukee, Philadelphia, San Diego, Silicon Valley and Hartford, Ct. The union is now concentrating its efforts in Washington, where, during an eight-year struggle, it has gone from virtually no members to about 2,000, nearly 40 percent of the workforce. J for J, which already represents most of the 2,000 custodians in federal government buildings, hopes to organize two-thirds of the private contractors in time for next year's contract negotiations.

Almost every working day for the last few years, members have taken to the streets in small groups to block roads, enter offices, and noisily demonstrate in front of office buildings and executives' homes. In recent months, J for J organizers have been using the city's fiscal crisis to frame their campaign—a classic instance of the union showing how its struggle relates to broad community concerns. J for J has focused relentlessly on property owners like Oliver Carr, who have received millions in tax breaks over the years, exacerbating the budget crisis that led Congress to effectively take over the district's government in March. Indeed, just as Congress was preparing to act, the city council voted to give property owners another $32 million tax rollback.

Twice—once during December and once during March—union members and supporters from across the country converged on the city for week-long actions. Hundreds of protesters were arrested for blocking traffic. On the final day of the March mobilization, janitors and their supporters disrupted a city council meeting and held their own impromptu press conference on the tax rollback. A few miles away, while members sat in the Capitol office of Speaker Newt Gingrich, other anti-Carr protesters interrupted Gingrich's attempt to gavel the House to order. The next day, Washington Mayor Marion Barry vetoed the rollback.

The two weeks of well-coordinated actions in Washington reinvigorated the organizing campaign and fired the imaginations of organizers from other unions. But the mobilizations also pointed up some of the potential limitations of the Justice for Janitors strategy.

First of all, the strategy cannot be applied in every situation. Justice for Janitors organizers carefully evaluate a potential market and analyze a variety of important factors—such as the likelihood of organizing a majority of a market, and issues that could provide leverage over employ-

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ers—before deciding to commit union money. J for J organizers urge unions and locals to test the waters with "mini-movements" in areas of strength before embarking on major campaigns.

Unions adopting this strategy should also be prepared to fight some legal skirmishes. In Washington, SEIU is working under a court injunction that bars demonstrators from the entrances to Carr's buildings—although an earlier edict forbidding members from even entering the buildings was overturned. A court recently held the janitors in contempt for a prayer vigil held at Carr's Maryland home, and ordered the union to pay Carr $13,000 in attorneys fees, ruling that the action was a union picket, not a religious ceremony.

In addition, as even proponents are quick to point out, the J for J model is enormously expensive. The week-long mobilization in March cost the SEIU $125,000—a figure that doesn't even include staff salaries and attorneys fees. Indeed, salaries are a big part of the J for J budget. The campaign requires a sizable, skilled staff to follow through on the many details of its far-flung activities: turning out members, arranging rides and props, mapping out routes, printing fliers, setting up meeting places, and coordinating media coverage.

Justice for Janitors spends about $2 million of the SEIU's $16 million annual organizing budget, estimates Building Services Division Organizing Director Bill Ragen. The SEIU devotes a larger proportion of its $55 million annual budget—30 percent of it—to organizing than any other international does, according to Stern.

Some union activists who generally support Justice for Janitors question whether its heavy reliance on staff—it employs 110 organizers—will produce the rank-and-file union democracy they feel is necessary to produce meaningful social change. "Unions have to be structured so that workers run the unions," says David Bacon of Oakland, an organizer who has 20 years of experience with the United Electrical Workers, the United Farm Workers and other unions. "A staff-driven organizing campaign has a danger of producing a staff-dominated union."

Justice for Janitors organizers counter by arguing that effective campaigns are best run by those who have the necessary skills and training. Besides, they contend, members will vote with their feet when they feel excluded. If the rank and file doesn't agree with the union's strategy, there won't be any campaign. They also point out that many of J for J's rank-and-file members have been moved up into staff positions and leadership roles.

Meanwhile, Justice for Janitors faces a more practical challenge: It has fallen short of its goal of keeping up with the industry's growth. Although the union did add 35,000 members in eight years, those gains came as the building industry was rapidly expanding. About one-third of the current office space in the United States was built during the '80s—a boom that added many more nonunion janitors to the workforce. Since 1993, the union's growth has been almost flat, due to corporate downsizing and the stagnant commercial real estate market. While the union has does represent the majority of janitors in the downtowns of some large cities, it is only now beginning to attack the suburbs. And a 1988 court injunction shut down its only campaign in the South—among Atlanta custodians—with no membership gains.

Stern says that even though the SEIU has made organizing a priority, it's still a struggle to wrest funds from a budget already stretched to service contracts and handle grievances. Nevertheless, he predicts that the SEIU will devote more of its organizing budget to non-NLRB, industry-wide organizing on the Justice for Janitors model. Indeed, the SEIU has already launched an aggressive campaign to organize the large nursing home chains. But much of the new money for such initiatives will have to come from locals, he says, many of which spend no more than 5 percent on organizing.

Other unions are showing a growing interest in the J for J model. And Lerner is now working with the Organizing Institute to launch similar campaigns in other industries. Auto-parts suppliers are being looked at very closely. The suppliers are particularly vulnerable to any work stoppage since auto assembly lines depend on the timely and regular flow of parts. In addition, the auto industry already enjoys a solid membership base.

Despite Justice for Janitors' impressive track record, few unions have adopted its tactics. Many labor leaders complain that workers are apathetic and won't show up for a union meeting, much less take to the streets. But Lerner says the problem isn't apathy as much as it is uninspired leadership: most members see their unions as irrelevant. Unions are not offering workers a vision worth fighting for, or giving them a plan with a reasonable chance of success, Lerner says. Justice for Janitors has proven that, with the right issues at stake, workers will take risks. In Los Angeles, dozens of janitors marched into Century City—and faced a brutal beating by the LAPD that sent 60 of them to the hospital. But they emerged stronger, with a court settlement, a majority of the industry organized and a new contract.

"We need to figure out how we use our remaining power to organize now," Lerner says. "We need to relearn how to capture the imagination, generate excitement, and articulate a vision that can mobilize union and nonunion workers. ... Only by targeting on a grand scale and by taking big risks can we succeed in our organizing." ◁

For more information on Justice for Janitors and its organizing model, see Labor Research Review #18, "Let's Get Moving," by Stephen Lerner. Materials and information are also available from the SEIU's Building Services Division at (202) 898-3295, and the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute at (202) 408-0700.

Zack Nauth is a freelance writer and union organizer who lives in San Rafael, Calif.

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MILITARY

Going south

With the Cold War a thing of the past, NATO is preparing for future confrontations with the Middle East's "rogue states."

By Michael T. Klare

With little fanfare or public notice, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has recently taken a number of steps to establish a new "Southern Front" against hostile states in the Middle East and the perceived threat of Islamic fundamentalism.

For many NATO officials, this new "southern threat" has replaced the "eastern threat" of the late Warsaw Pact as the greatest peril to European security. "Islamic fundamentalism is at least as dangerous as communism was," Willy Claes, the secretary-general of NATO, declared in February. "Please do not underestimate it."

In line with this outlook, the alliance has begun to plan for the expansion of its operations south into North Africa and southeast into the Middle East. Since February, NATO officials have been meeting regularly with representatives of Egypt, Israel, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia to discuss a common response to threats arising from the spread of militant Islamic fundamentalism. Although still at a preliminary stage, the talks are seen as the first step toward future military cooperation between NATO and friendly Middle Eastern and North African countries.

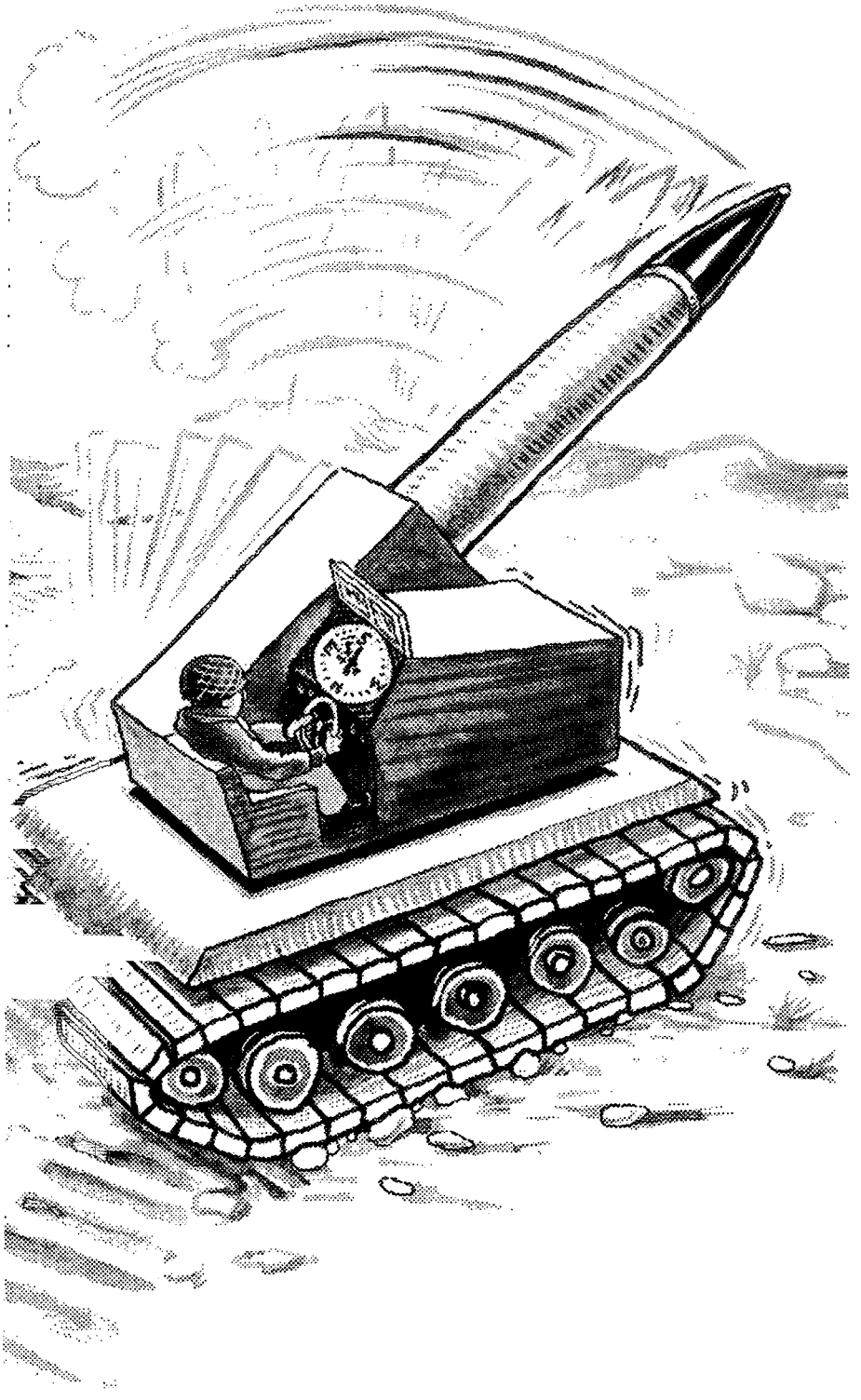
NATO officials have been very careful to avoid the impression that the north-south talks are intended to forge a common front against fundamentalism. Nevertheless, they have made no secret of their concern over political and religious unrest across the Mediterranean. "The new mission of this alliance is to project stability, which it needs to do toward the south," explained Carlos Miranda, the Spanish ambassador to NATO. "In no way is this a confrontational move. We have to be careful about instability and insecurity around us."



In another expression of its new southern orientation, NATO has begun development of a new missile defense system aimed at cruise and ballistic missiles of the sort possessed by—or under development in—Third World countries such as Iran, Libya and Syria. Known as the Medium Extended Air Defense System (MEADS), it will be developed jointly by the United States, France, Germany and Italy, and will cost an estimated $20 billion. MEADS is "a top priority in our missile defense system," Undersecretary of Defense Paul Kaminski said during a Pentagon briefing in February.

Details of MEADS are still fairly sketchy, but it is assumed that the system will include an advanced version of the Patriot missile—or something like it—along with sophisticated surveillance, targeting and "battle management" systems. Much of the new technology being developed for MEADS will be used to detect and track low-fly-

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ing cruise missiles that can evade existing radar systems.

To better monitor military and political developments in North Africa and the Middle East, NATO also is beefing up its Southern Command headquarters in Naples, Italy. Headed by an American admiral, Leighton Smith, the Naples center is coordinating the dialogue with Middle Eastern countries as well as supervising NATO operations in the Balkans. As NATO's involvement in the region grows, the Southern Command is likely to play an even bigger role in alliance activities.

What explains this new preoccupation with the "southern threat"? To some extent, it is a product of bureaucratic and financial interests: Without the Soviet Union to defend against, military leaders and weapons manufacturers—both U.S. and European—need a credible enemy to mobilize support for high levels of military spending. A focus on the South also helps alliance officials to quiet anxieties arising from the proposed expansion of NATO membership to the nations of East Central Europe, and deflects public attention from their inability to develop and execute a common strategy for dealing with Serbian aggression in Bosnia.

That NATO has for years failed to develop a common strategy for Bosnia is news to no one. But the fact that Washington is considering lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims—a move currently being pushed by the Republicans in Congress—is causing consternation in London and Paris, where many fear that the likely result would be heavy Serbian attacks on the British and French soldiers who make up the bulk of U.N. peacekeeping forces in Bosnia. Such attacks, were they to occur, would probably lead to the withdrawal of U.N. forces from Bosnia and Croatia, an escalation in sectarian violence, and overt Russian aid for Serbia—all of which would prove devastating for European security and the reputation of NATO.

Equally worrying to many in Western Europe is the prospect that any eastward expansion of NATO, as advocated by U.S. leaders, would provoke strong hostility from the Russian Federation. "The question is no longer whether NATO will take on new members, but when and how," President Clinton avowed in 1994. The Republicans in Congress are also calling for the rapid expansion of NATO. But many Europeans are reluctant to add new members, for fear that they would be obliged to defend Poland,

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and overt Russian aid for Serbia—all of which would prove devastating for European security and the reputation of NATO.

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Obviously, a focus on the Southern threat would enable NATO to distract public attention from these other concerns. It would also tap into white Europeans' fears of a massive influx of dark-skinned, predominantly Muslim refugees from North Africa. But there is also something else going on here, something rarely articulated but significant nonetheless: a sense among Western elites that the North Atlantic community represents a shrinking enclave of wealth and advantage under assault from a growing tide of poverty and resentment. From this perspective, the ultimate task of NATO is to protect that enclave from the impoverished masses to the south.

In the most sophisticated expression of this outlook, Professor Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard University wrote in the June 1993 issue of *Foreign Affairs* that the traditional big-power rivalries of the 19th and 20th centuries will give way, in the 21st century, to a "clash of civilizations" between the world's major religious-cultural blocs. "Nation-states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs," he wrote, "but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations." And while such clashes will erupt among many civilizations—Muslim vs. Hindu, Hindu vs. Confucian, and so on—Huntington leaves no doubt that he believes that the greatest conflict will occur between Western Christianity and the Islamic world.

Huntington's essay has provoked enormous controversy, inspiring conferences and seminars on the topic all around the world. But while it is possible to marshal many arguments against Huntington's "clash of civilizations," there is no doubt that it expresses the inner beliefs of many Western policy-makers.

Western leaders' anxiety over developments in the Islamic world is also evident in the "rogue doctrine" that now governs U.S. military planning. Developed in the immediate aftermath of the Berlin Wall's demise, the doctrine holds that Western security is vitally threatened by a coterie of "rogue states" armed with ballistic missiles and nuclear or chemical munitions. With only one exception, North Korea, all of the countries said to belong in this group—notably Iran, Iraq, Libya and Syria—are located in the Middle East.

As originally devised, the rogue doctrine focused primarily on the military capabilities of potential Third World adversaries. These countries were said to possess large and modern military establishments, and to be engaged in illicit proliferation activities. After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, however, Western military leaders began to attribute an even wider array of unsavory characteristics to rogue states, including domestic brutality and support for international terrorism.

On this basis, the Clinton administration—like the Bush administration before it—has adopted a military posture based on the notion that U.S. forces must be able to fight and defeat two foes equivalent to Iraq simultaneously—a requirement that entails the retention of a military establishment only slightly smaller than that maintained at the height of the Cold War.

In 1993-94, the principal target of this policy was North Korea. The United States put enormous pressure on Pyongyang to terminate its nuclear weapons program, and warned of dire consequences if the North invaded the South. But with North Korea now promising to dismantle its nuclear weapons capability, the focus has again shifted to the Middle East, with new threats of military action being levied against Iran, Iraq and Libya.

In their Contract with America, the Republicans in Congress pledged to conduct a full-scale review of U.S. military policy. Close reading of the contract, however, reveals that their intent is not to question the logic of the administration's two-war strategy, but rather to determine whether more money should be devoted to its implementation. A review is needed, Republicans say, because of suspicions that the Clinton plan contains "unrealistic financing for the established goals."

There is, then, a bipartisan consensus that U.S. military policy should be geared to continuous preparation for recurring battles with rogue-type states. In this sense, U.S. strategy and the new NATO posture are in close alignment—in both cases, senior policy-makers are claiming that the industrial West faces a rising challenge from hostile forces in the Middle East and surrounding areas.

Of course, much can happen in the next few years to alter NATO's and Washington's strategic outlook. Developments in the East may again monopolize the attention of Western leaders. But assuming that events there do not spiral out of control, we can expect an increasing focus on the South. And if past experience is any indication, this "us vs. them" mentality will lead to increasing friction between the Western powers and Islamic countries, and perhaps spark a new sort of Cold War with the Mediterranean as the embattled dividing line. ◀

Michael T. Klare is a professor of peace and world security studies at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., and author of the just-published *Rogue States and Nuclear Outlaws: America's Search for a New Foreign Policy* (Hill & Wang).

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BLACK AMERICA

The Daley grind

The long reign of Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley has revealed the limitations of black nationalist politics.

By Salim Muwakkil
CHICAGO

After a campaign that inspired almost no one, Richard M. Daley, the last of the Democrats' big-city mayors, coasted to victory over the latest black challenger to his political throne. In an April 4 election that featured the second lowest voter turnout in Chicago history, Daley defeated independent candidate Roland Burris by a margin of 24 percent. The victory solidifies Daley's national status as one of the Democratic Party's most influential players and sends local black activists back to the political drawing board.

The 57-year-old Burris is the sixth major black candidate to fall to Daley, who has defeated African-American challengers in primary and general election races in 1989, 1991 and 1995. Each candidate in this vanquished series framed his campaign as a holy crusade to succeed the late, sainted Harold Washington, the city's first African-American mayor. But their heavy emphasis on racial grievances alienated many of Washington's former allies and sundered his multiracial coalition. And they even failed to rouse the city's torpid black electorate.

Burris, a former Illinois attorney general and comptroller, was the first black candidate to win statewide office. He won by downplaying race and cultivating the image of a sober technocrat with pro-business inclinations. But the same qualities that made Burris attractive to white voters devalued his currency among African-Americans. Nevertheless, local black leaders decided they needed a high-profile African-American candidate to mount a credible challenge to Daley. Burris, who lost badly in last year's Democratic gubernatorial primary, was still angry at state Democrats and accepted the draft to run as an independent.

But the campaign was doomed from the outset. By running an independent campaign in the general election, Burris surrendered the opportunity to challenge Daley in the Democratic primary, where the incumbent was more vulnerable. In the primary, Daley faced a much less formidable black challenger, Joseph E. Gardner, a commissioner of the Metropolitan Water Reclamation District of Greater Chicago. Burris, at least nominally, supported Gardner's candidacy. Consequently, Burris couldn't launch his own campaign until after the February 28 primary, in which Gardner lost to Daley by a margin of 33 percent.

This year's one-two attack by black candidates marked the third time this strategy has been tried—and the third time it has failed. After defeating Washington's appointed successor, Eugene Sawyer, in a 1989 special primary election, Daley was subsequently challenged in the general election by Timothy Evans, who helped found the Harold Washington Party (HWP) as an independent political vehicle. In 1991, Alderman Danny Davis was sacrificed to Daley in the primary and Appellate Judge R. Eugene Pincham launched a futile crusade under the HWP banner in the general election.

No candidate has emerged who possesses the late mayor's ability to unite the city's notoriously contentious black communities. Chicago's black middle class has interests that differ from those of the lower-income blacks who dominate public housing. And aside from a few years of cooperation during Washington's tenure, black nationalist groups and civil rights organizations have kept each other at arm's length.

The late mayor also forged connections with Chicago's expanding Latino population and cultivated ties with sympathetic whites. But these days the city's dominant black organizations have virtually abandoned coalition politics as an option; an insular black nationalism has become their working ideology

"The African-American community is more supportive of black nationalist goals than perhaps ever before," says Michael Dawson, a professor of political science at the Uni-

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versity of Chicago and author of *Behind the Mule: Race, Class and African-American Politics*. In Chicago that trend is embodied in two groups: the Task Force For Black Political Empowerment and the Chicago Black United Communities (CBUC), which together represent the majority of the city's most active black community groups. Since Daley's first victory in 1989, the two organizations have tried valiantly to generate anti-Daley fervor. But the savvy media managers in the mayor's inner circle have crafted an image of Daley as a technocratic municipal manager who holds himself above partisan or racial politics.

Chicago has gone from a city widely characterized as "Beirut on the lake," because of the racial rancor provoked by Washington's victory, to a city best known for its thriving business community and bustling downtown. Periodically, darker tales break through. Reports of incidents occurring in the city's less privileged precincts—the gang execution of an 11-year-old murder suspect, two pre-teens throwing an 8-year-old out of a high-rise window—have served as a kind of cultural shorthand for the horrid realities of the nation's escalating youth violence.

The task force and CBUC have repeatedly attempted to link the growing distress in the city's poorer communities to Daley's policies, but have had scant success in provoking interest. In fact, it was CBUC leaders Eddie Read and Lu Palmer who convinced Burris to enter the race. "They came to him, saying 'Look, we helped you when you needed us, and now we desperately need you,' " explains Don Rashid, a top Burris aide. "They worked on Roland's sense of duty and it worked like a charm." Palmer and Read figured that someone of Burris' stature would better be able to convince the black community of Daley's culpability for the breakdown of their neighborhoods.

But voter turnout in the black community was even lower than the 41 percent total citywide. "I really don't know what it's going to take to get our people as politically concerned as they should be," says Robert Starks, the chairman of the task force and an assistant professor of political science at Northeastern Illinois University's Center For Inner-City Studies. "That will probably change soon, as the national policies of the right-wing Republicans begin to filter down. But on this local level, I'm not sure what we have to do to get rid of the racist Daley machine."

That characterization of the Daley administration as "racist" seems to be an example of the kind of rhetorical overkill that has alienated many of the city's progressive activists from the dominant black organizations. From their perspective, Daley would have been more effectively challenged by David Orr, a white progressive who now serves as County Clerk. (See *In These Times*, Oct. 31, 1994.)

"It's clear to me that Palmer and Starks and the rest of those guys don't have a real purchase on what politics is," says Adolph Reed, a professor of political science at Northwestern University and a widely published commentator on national politics. "They fooled themselves into thinking they have a political base, and then they fooled Burris."

But while black nationalist influence may be an old story, one new story did emerge during Chicago's latest elections. Two candidates who were former street gang members forced runoff elections against incumbents in two aldermanic contests. Coincidentally, both incumbents were women. Wallace "Gator" Bradley was handily defeated by Third Ward Alderman Dorothy Tillman, a veteran civil rights organizer who came to Chicago with Martin Luther King, Jr. in the '60s and stayed. And Hal Baskin lost his bid to oust Shirley Coleman as 16th Ward alderman.

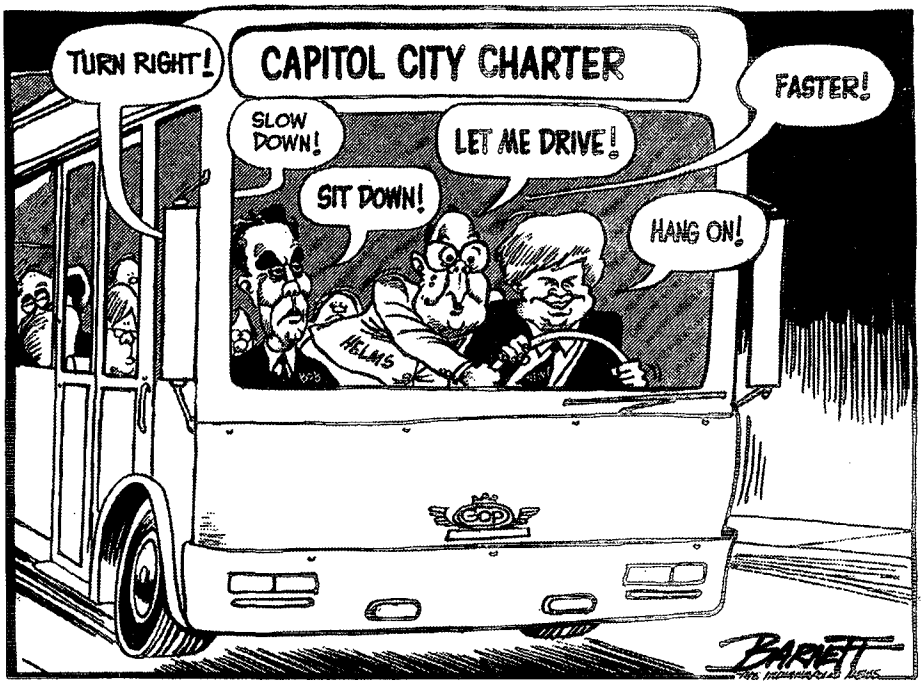
International media attention was lavished on the two former gang members, but both were scorned locally as political pariahs. Still, the campaigns of Bradley and Baskin represent a new awakening among impoverished black youths—a demographic group long considered politically irrelevant. In Chicago, this nascent movement is being led by 21st Century VOTE, a group organized by imprisoned gang leaders who claim to have been converted to the cause of community development. Local law enforcement officials beg to differ; they contend that 21st Century VOTE is simply a front for non-electoral scams. Although the group made no endorsements during the campaign, both Bradley and Baskin received assistance from 21st Century VOTE members.

The emergence of this youth formation is as unsettling to black nationalist organizers as it is to traditional civil rights groups. "Whether [21st Century VOTE] will be a positive or negative force remains to be seen," says the task force's Starks. "They may represent the same kind of youth activism that sparked the action in the 1960s and have some long-term impact. But then again, they may be just another group trying to wrest whatever goodies they can from the system. I'm still waiting to hear what kind of philosophical grounding they have. What's their ideology?"

Similar questions are being asked of Daley himself. In recent months, the Democratic mayor has been saying kind things about the Republicans, and particularly about House Speaker Newt Gingrich. Despite the fact that Chicago is the site for the 1996 Democratic National Convention, Daley has been denigrating his party as "the party of Washington, D.C., not the party of the average American." If the party doesn't wake up, he predicted, "it will drown in the Potomac River." Increasingly, his politics incline more toward the GOP right. Daley, a fiscal conservative, shares the Republicans' affection for issues like privatization and educational vouchers. Unlike most Republicans, however, Daley also supports affirmative action and gay rights policies.

Though Daley can't command the vast party apparatus that his father once did, his political operation is running almost as smoothly as the old man's vaunted machine. Chastened by that efficiency, black activists have been forced to retreat for the moment. Yet even now, one can easily predict the broad outlines of their 1999 campaign; they will cast two black candidates as messianic figures—at least one of whom will be able to lead Chicago into the next millennium without a Daley at the helm. Yeah, that just might work. ◀

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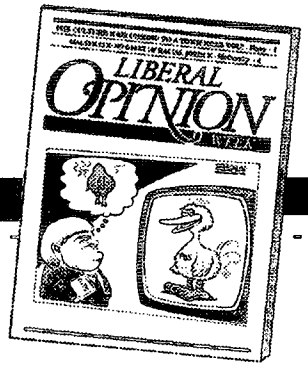
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SPORTS

Foul ball

Today, baseball is little more than a cash cow for squabbling millionaires. Can it be saved?

By David Moberg

After enduring a nearly eight-month strike, baseball's owners and players finally decided to play ball. A March 31 injunction against the owners at the request of National Labor Relations Board counsel Fred Feinstein may have saved the national pastime from the ugly spectacle of scab ballplayers, but the dispute lingers on.

No matter how baseball's labor strife is settled, some basic problems with the game will remain. Baseball may seem like just another entertainment business. But because the sport is a treasured cultural icon, it receives hundreds of millions of dollars a year in taxpayer subsidies. Team owners enjoy special legal privileges, and their perks come with no accountability to the public. Either baseball should be stripped of its privileged status or, better yet, it should be regulated as a public utility. Public regulation could encourage ownership by municipalities, associations of fans or groups of players—all forms of ownership with precedent in baseball's history that could bring out the best in the game.

Of course, many non-fans wonder what all the fuss is about. After all, the baseball dispute is no hoary struggle of skilled factory workers trying to maintain their middle-class incomes. It's millionaires vs. billionaires—though at least the millionaires do something skilled and entertaining for their pay. And, although baseball may be a $2-billion-a-year business, the players' strike has hardly affected the country's economy in the way that a nationwide walkout in the auto industry would.

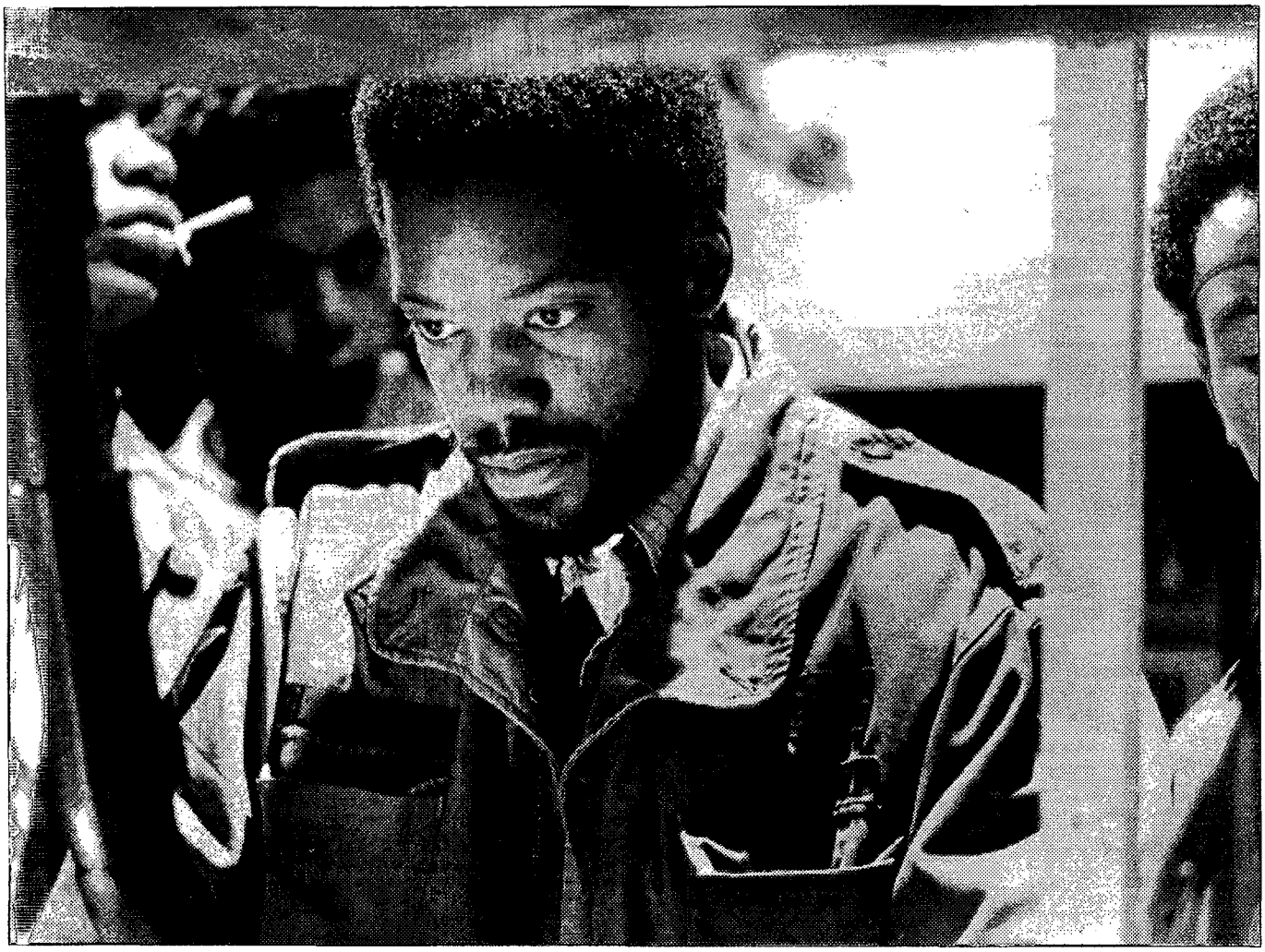
Still, in an era when the entertainment industry is one of the few businesses in which the United States retains a competitive edge, the fate of the nation's most revered spectator sport is hardly inconsequential.

In its starkest terms, the dispute between players and owners is simple. Over the past two decades, the cartel of owners has lost many of the powers it once possessed to suppress player incomes. In the 1970s, the players union won the right for some players to bargain as free agents and for others to use salary arbitration to push up their incomes. Between 1987 and 1990, the union won three key grievances that ended the owners' illegal collusion in holding down players' salaries. As a result, players' pay has soared—though, as economist Andrew Zimbalist argues in the book *Baseball and Billions*, most players are still underpaid if their salaries are compared to the revenue they generate for the owners.

Team owners have complained that escalating salaries are bankrupting baseball. Teams in smaller markets are especially vulnerable to fiscal collapse, the owners argue. Though the owners rarely reveal their finances—which are often disguised through complex accounting schemes—observers generally agree that most baseball teams, including some small teams, are prosperous. No doubt, some small-market teams are suffering. But the owners, rather than figuring out a way to share revenues more equitably among all clubs, have been pushing a plan that would take money for revenue-sharing out of the players' pockets.

At a January 1994 meeting in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., the owners adopted a plan that would eventually give the financially strapped teams $58 million a year. At the same time, the owners proposed to place a $55-million annual luxury "tax" on the salaries of players from teams with large payrolls. In addition to raising money for revenue sharing, the owners hoped that stiff payroll taxes would effectively put a

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books. (The book documenting the making of the movie, *Panther*, from Newmarket Press, provides a more complete picture.) The film is confined to the early years of the Panthers, their most famous confrontations, and the growing police and FBI conspiracy against the party at the tail end of the '60s, with the white guys mostly coming from Central Casting's rogues' gallery.

The film concludes, around 1970, with a *JFK*-style mixture of paranoia and homophobia. J. Edgar Hoover calls on organized crime to come up with "a final solution" to inner-city unrest that is good for their business—a flood of cheap heroin into the ghettos. "What made Mr. Hoover change his mind?" an agent wonders. A slimy mob lawyer answers with a laugh, "Woman's intuition," alluding to the notion that gangsters had the goods on Hoover's secret homosexuality.

The second phase of the Black Panthers' history—the growth of their special schools and breakfast programs and forays into electoral politics in the early '70s—is missing from the picture, shunted aside by the film's cinematic firefights. Nor will you find anything about the dissension that splintered the party in the '70s, or about figures such as Elaine Brown.

The film only pays lip service to the women of the Panthers (even though a woman, J. Tarika Lewis, is credited as adviser to the filmmakers). There's a scene in which the Panther women stand up to their male counterparts, demanding full membership in the organization, but once the dramatic scene is over the women drop back into the shadows, none of them emerging clearly enough to be memorable.

Mario Van Peebles does better here by women than he did in the exploitative *Posse*, but *Panther* seems to be aimed primarily at young men. The film presents itself as a history lesson about black pride—although a lesson in armed posturing is hardly what most young men, black or white, need right now. The Panthers were both heroes and failures, and both parts of their history are important—that is, if we don't want to be condemned to repeat it.

Nevertheless, *Panther* is a rousing piece of agitprop, an in-your-face rebuttal of the commonly held notion that the Panthers were nothing but a terrorist gang. It tickles me to think of it playing alongside standard-issue cop movies at the local multiplex. But the fact that it can and will fit easily into the marketplace is an indication of its weakness as well. *Panther* is, in many respects, just another movie. I wish it had been brave enough to try for something more. ◀

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IN PRINT

Jung and the restless

By Chris Lehmann

A specter is haunting American culture—the specter of Jungianism. Now that newsweeklies have largely banished Freud to the dustbin of history, psychoanalysis' most celebrated turncoat is enjoying an unprecedented revival. Publishers have found gold in writers who bear the pedigree of "Jungian analyst," whether it be the sweetly homiletic Thomas Moore (who has produced three self-help blockbusters on the soul and its vagaries in as many years) or the feral, incantatory Clarissa Pinkola Estés (of *Women Who Run With the Wolves* fame). Tireless spiritual pilgrim Bill Moyers has brought the Jung gospel to the airwaves, first with his interviews with comparative mythologist Joseph Campbell, then with his own series on spiritual modes of medical care, "Healing and the Mind" (both later repackaged into best-selling books, as well). Jungian institutes, conferences and workshops abound; everybody from recovery gurus to rock stars speaks the language of myth, archetype and collective unconscious with the casual élan of true initiates.

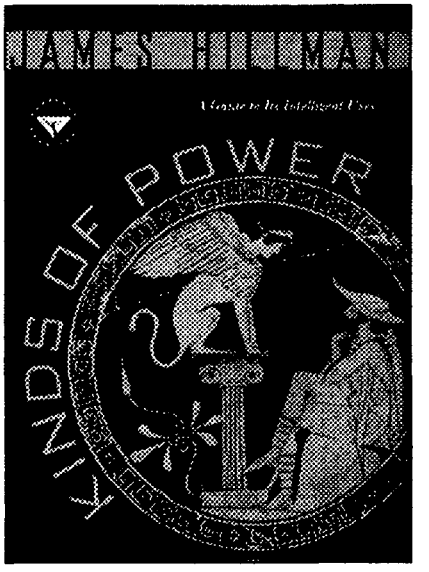
The current Jungian revolution has obvious attractions for Americans, who have never had much patience with Freud's downbeat counsel that the task of analysis is to transform neurotic misery into ordinary unhappiness. Contemporary Jungianism, by contrast, transforms the darker reaches of the psyche into the cheerful, undifferentiated realm of the collective unconscious. Jungianism, in other words, is the latest spiritual installment in the American love affair with the self, extending the calm assurance that, even in the darkest nights of the soul, the gods are on our side.

How Jungian thought has come to play this role is a long, fascinating story, which historian and clinical psychologist Richard Noll has traced back to Jung himself. The current incarnation of Jungianism is no accident, Noll argues: Jung explicitly set out to institute his school of psychoanalysis as a religion, in which Jung himself would serve as the central figure of worship. Noll copiously documents this claim in a narrative of impressive intellectual range. He has provided what no other Jung scholar has: a thorough examination of the spiritual, political and cultural climate in which Jung came of age and matured into a 20th-century prophet.

In framing his argument, Noll stresses Jung's cultural identification with Germany, a fact little-discussed in latter-day Jungian circles. The son of a Swiss Presbyterian minister, Jung took great care in his later life to distance himself from his German roots. Being Swiss allowed Jung to assume a posture of neutrality in the face of the instability and terror German culture has visited upon our century. Yet Jung came from patrician German stock, a fact in which he took no small pride. His paternal grandfather, the renowned Catholic physician Carl Gustav Jung the Elder, was rumored to be the illegitimate son of Goethe—modern Germany's culture hero par excellence, and the prototype for Nietzsche's conception of the *übermensch*.

Noll's book carefully reconstructs the German culture Jung imbibed in the first three decades of the 20th century, as he launched his brilliant psychoanalytic career. Like our own age, it was a time of far-flung spiritual experimentation and cultural exoticism—though all of a decidedly Teutonic cast. "Völkisch utopianism," as Noll calls it, was the informal ideology of a generation of German seers and seekers: a bewildering welter of social Darwinism, monism, vitalism, neopagan religion, Wagnerism, and racialist and hereditary theories of historical and personal "degeneration." The obsession with degeneration preoccupied Germany long before the rise of National Socialism and lay behind many of the day's leading intellectual and aesthetic movements (of which Wagnerism is but the most notorious). Nothing unsettled Germans more profoundly than the fear that heredity had tainted their bloodlines and marked them as weak, submissive victims of a modernity that was eroding their heritage. (This, indeed, was another factor in Jung's embrace of his German lineage, Noll notes: His Swiss mother's side of the family had a history of mental illness, which proved to be a source of great anxiety in his youth.)

Jung, like most German (and German-identified) intellectuals, sought to



The Jung Cult: Origins of a Charismatic Movement
By Richard Noll
Princeton University Press
387 pp., $27.95

Kinds of Power: A Guide to Its Intelligent Uses
By James Hillman
Doubleday
260 pp., $22

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combat degenerate forces of culture and blood with notions of a purer national spirit. Writing to a pupil in 1923, Jung described the pre-Christian origins of "the Germanic tribes" (noting, significantly, "there is a whole lot of primitivity in us to be made good"). The "foreign growth" of Christian civilization, Jung explained, was a "mutilation" of "the Germanic man. ... We must dig down to the primitive in us, for only out of the conflict between civilized man and the German barbarian will there come what we need: a new experience of God."

It is difficult not to view such effusions as direct precursors of Nazi ideology. But Noll sensibly lays to rest the misleading question of whether Jung was a Nazi: Jung's völkisch allegiances never ripened into anything resembling fascist sympathies. Nevertheless, Noll also demonstrates that Jung's thought was clearly steeped in the racialist spirit of the age, tacitly hewing to the Aryan/Semitic oppositions that were a staple of German science, pseudo-science and cultural life. (Jung's close association with Freud and relations with his Jewish mistress, Sabina Spielrein, do not seem, however, to have thwarted his private anti-Semitic leanings. The Analytical Psychological Club of Zurich, which Jung helped found and led as a prototype of his later cult of personality, passed a "secret appendix" to its bylaws—not made public until 1989—limiting Jewish membership to 10 percent and Jewish "guest membership" to 25 percent of total members.)

Noll argues, in all events, that what chiefly distinguishes the origins of Jung's völkisch thought is its later elaboration of psychoanalysis as a religion. Indeed, this interpretation of the movement seems to lie at the heart of the break with Freud. When Freud wrote to Jung in 1910 entertaining the innocuous idea of affiliating psychoanalysis with a Swiss society for ethical culture, Jung denounced the plan as "artificial," since "religion can only be replaced by religion." The task of psychoanalysis, he explained in a letter responding to Freud's proposal, was "to revivify among intellectuals a feeling for symbol and myth, ever so gently to transform Christ into the soothsaying god of the vine ... for the *one* purpose of making the [Christian] cult and the sacred myth what they once were—a drunken feast of joy where man regained the ethos and the holiness of an animal."

In the wake of the break with Freud, Noll writes, Jung began immodestly to cast himself in the role of a modern-day "divine man." The text of a 1925 seminar (also not made public until 1989) has Jung analyzing the content of a dream in which the mythic figure of Salome informs him "You are Christ." The dream culminates with Jung battling a serpent, only to find himself "in the attitude of the Crucifixion." The "mystery of deification" he experienced in the dream, Jung reported, gave him "certainty of immortality."

Jung made the individual's "deification"—the esoteric union of the self with the divine—a central article of faith in his later writings on religion, and outlined its terms in a remarkable address to the Zurich Psychology Club. The club, explicitly modeled on the Greek and Roman mystery cults of late antiquity, was, in Jung's words, a " 'silent experiment' in group psychology"; his remarks to initiates stressed that the "identification of the personality with the collective unconscious manifests itself always in the phenomenon of self-deification. ... Only after the overcoming of self-deification, only after the human being has been revealed to himself ... can we speak of a real analytical collectivity."

This private religion of the self continues to be the axis around which contemporary Jungianism revolves. While the völkisch roots of the movement are largely submerged, present-day Jungian prophets share the master's spiritual habits of mind: a reduction of all psychological and cultural matters to the level of myth; an enthusiasm for hidden, esoteric interpretations of religion; and a determination to constitute themselves as a spiritual elite. Thus elevated, Jungian observers typically survey cultural and political conflict from above, with the wise, knowing detachment of those initiated into higher truths.

No latter-day Jungian captures these attitudes better than James Hillman. A specialist in the archetypal branch of Jungian analysis and former head of the Jungian Institute in Bern, Hillman is the mentor of soul-broker Thomas Moore. Hillman's followers are legion, influential and adoring: Poet and guy-guru Robert Bly likens him to William James; novelist Thomas Pynchon calls him "provocative, dangerous and high-spirited."

Lately Hillman has been edging into the role of social critic. His last book, *We've Had a Hundred Years of Psychoanalysis and the World's Getting Worse*, was based on a rambling exchange of letters with journalist Michael Ventura, in which the correspondents ruminated glumly on civilization's plight, only to conclude that a reawakened spirituality, steeped in the timeless verities of myth, would redeem the secular follies that Freud and modernity have unleashed on the world.

Hillman's latest offering, *Kinds of Power*, has one immediate affinity with Jung's cult: It is addressed quite self-consciously to an elite—in this case, the charmed circle of business leaders who govern the mysteries of the world economy. Hillman has taken up the mantle of business, he writes in his introduction (which bears the leaden title, "Opening the Book"), "because that is where I believe the most daring and challenged minds are at work." Perhaps this wide-eyed estimation of the promise of business civilization stems from Hillman's stunningly naive assessment of its historic influence. Business cries out for psychological understanding, he writes, because it is constituted like no other earthly power: "Business has no standing army, no ruling king who must be obeyed, no SWAT teams or secret police, no codified laws or educational dogma for indoctrinating youth...." Even a cursory review of recent history can refute this dumbfounding assertion point by point. Hillman clearly needs to spend less time rooting around in mythic archetypes and more time reading up on the Pullman strike, United Fruit and Anaconda Copper, antitrust enforcement, and the Department of Economics at the University of Chicago.

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Yet such infamous public concerns have little to do with what Hillman means by "power." He largely ignores power as a political force in the actual world—and hence a subject for debate over its proper origins and applications—and instead treats it chiefly as a function of personal attributes (such as charisma, influence, fearsomeness, even exhibitionism). He then illustrates these traits by invoking a disheveled gallery (or, as he calls it, a "grid") of their mythical avatars. He defends this method with a formula that is oft-repeated among modern-day Jung acolytes: "The mythical approach to our subject, power, means the moralizing about it falls away. ... Any God or Goddess can be an enemy and a killer. Any form of power can be destructive or constructively valuable."

To nail this point down, Hillman offers the revealing example of benign despotism: "Western history is filled with constructive monsters like the czar who built St. Petersburg, or Napoleon" (heeding the call of myth evidently doesn't allow time to look up the name of Peter the Great). He continues with a frightful historical parallel: "The bountiful king binds his subjects by his gifts, as does the CEO by the opportunities he offers."

Indeed, like the exponents of völkisch utopianism in the '20s, Hillman is much enamored of the Great Man theory of history. "Like an inborn release mechanism in animals," he writes, "leadership is called forth by circumstances. The person rises to the occasion and the group falls behind." Compounded with the psyche's "need to idealize, to imagine the far off and wonderful ... leadership becomes the instrument of history."

This sort of talk should come as a shock to some in the cultural left, who often credit the Jungian movement with various "progressive" impulses. But in both content and form, Hillman's analysis illustrates the central thesis of Noll's critique of Jungianism as a religion: The sloppy thinking and shoddy appeals to history testify to a closed intellectual system, which assimilates all potential criticism under the sweeping terms of its unsubstantiated worldview. (Who, after all, has the energy to do serious battle with the vast, formless claim that "Any form of power can be destructive or constructively valuable"?) Indeed, Hillman goes so far as to argue that "in a curious way, myths provide more objectivity than do models of thought. Even though mythical grids use human-like figures ... and speak the rhetoric of subjectivity—passions, feelings, habits and attitudes—their effect is more objective because they do not press a theoretical construction on phenomena." Few cult leaders would disagree.

Thus shielded from critical interrogation, the creatures of Jungian myth can forage through the body politic to produce truly appalling views masquerading as spiritual insight. At several points, for example, Hillman pauses to denounce the evils of policing sexual harassment too vigilantly. Anti-harassment policies, Hillman argues, repress the Dionysian spirit of sexual exhibition, already much beleaguered by the sterility and codified behavior that govern most office environments.

In fact, Hillman hypothesizes, such policies worsen the problem: "The repression of the natural animal display of one's power, by bureaucratic and legalistic correctness, rather than eliminating sexual harassment may foster it." Elsewhere, he chortles, "Dionysus, who led his followers out of the city and into the woodlands, was never politically correct. ... Sexual harassment in the correctly ordered office exemplifies the exaggerated return of Dionysian vitality in situations of stressed mental despair."

Hillman is similarly illuminating on the plight of labor in the U.S. economy. The steady decline of skilled labor and the corresponding boom of the service economy in a rapidly deindustrializing society need be no great cause for alarm, he counsels his business readers. Simply restore inanimate matter to its proper place of reverence, and underpaid service workers will ritualize their labors into a form of worship. The service of persons has for too long borne the Hegelian taint of master-slave relations; service "as a ritual activity" is "less a disempowering servitude than an enhancement...." Hillman's illustration of this claim has to be quoted at length to be believed:

> Not only do persons call for service; their things do, too—the oil changed, the VCR cleaned, the dryer repaired, the message transmitted. Ceremonies of the repair-man. Objects have their own personalities that ask for attention, just as the ads show the smiling bathtub that enjoys the new cleanser or the wood siding that likes the fresh stain which protects it from decay. Treating things as if they had souls, carefully, with good manners—that's quality service.

In other words, answering someone else's phone ("with good manners") is good for your soul: It is difficult to imagine a more condescending and odious capitulation to the systematic deskilling of American workers. Hillman, like most elitist adherents of esoteric faiths, cannot imagine the daily outrages endured by those he enjoins to adoringly serve the impersonal: The social order exists for him as an abstraction and a mythological plaything. It exacts no greater tribute from him than the occasional offense to his refined spiritual sensibility.

Yet the current national mood is such that Hillman is much more than a would-be shaman who has strayed out of his depth. The petulant flight from any engagement with public life (witnessed in everything from the breathless voyeurism of daytime talk shows to the antipolitics of the last congressional election) is perfectly consonant with the mythologizing of the self into a principle of divinity. Don't just take my word for it: Doubleday is publishing Hillman's book under the imprint of something called "The Currency Connection," described as "an informal network of business leaders interested in learning about the newest and boldest values, practices, and ideas about work." (The dust jacket supplies a toll-free number for the group: 1-800-431-0725.) Oh, and Thomas Moore, the self-appointed keeper of the American soul, raves that Hillman's book "excited me so much that I'm eager to put into practice its promising new imagination of power." Stay tuned. ◄

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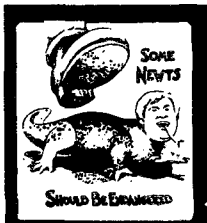
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Continued from page 2

try. The plan, agreed upon by all parties at the Paris conference, was to hold national elections in July 1956, after which the country would be reunited. Member-states of the International Supervisory Commission—France, Britain and the United States—would supervise the elections.

If elections were held, as even President Eisenhower admitted, the Communists would have won 80 percent of the vote. That, Eisenhower decided, could not be allowed. But, keenly aware of Ho Chi Minh's popularity, he refused direct military intervention. Instead, the United States installed Ngo Dinh Diem as premier of what then became South Vietnam.

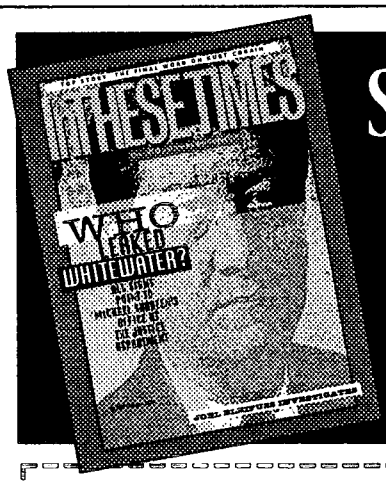
Diem was a Catholic nationalist. In his first year in office he moved to crush all opposition, including Buddhist sects, anti-Diem nationalists and Viet Minh cadre remaining in the south. And the United States helped by training and supplying Diem's army, largely under CIA supervision—much as it has recently done in Haiti and Guatemala. This was the situation that Kennedy and McNamara inherited. But they also inherited an ineffective leader who showed signs of making a deal with the communists to expel the Americans. That, too, could not be allowed. So, with CIA connivance and JFK's approval, Diem was assassinated only weeks before Kennedy was shot in Dallas.

When Kennedy died, the United States had only 17,000 troops in Vietnam. Johnson and McNamara sharply escalated American intervention, starting in the spring of 1965. That set the stage for 10 more years of carnage before the United States finally acknowledged defeat.

Now, 20 years later and with the Cold War over, it's time to look at this "failure" more honestly than our leaders and media seem capable of doing. McNamara writes that the ultimate cause of the failure lay with the South Vietnamese. But South Vietnam could never have "failed" were it not for the U.S. refusal to let the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese have their election and go their own way.

The excuse for not doing so was the Cold War, and the fear either of strengthening communism or looking soft in the face of the alleged communist threat. But anyone who knew even a bit of Indochinese history should have known that Vietnam would not have remained friendly with China once it became independent—and that Vietnam was never close to the Soviet Union until it was drawn into its orbit by the formation of South Vietnam and the onset of the American war.

Vietnam was a tragedy, but not because we lost. It was a tragedy because our leaders took us into a war in defense of an imperial system that still dominates and impoverishes most of the world. Every American president starting with Truman and ending with Nixon, along with officials such as John Foster Dulles, Robert McNamara and Henry Kissinger, shares responsibility for the deaths and corruption that our nation suffered from the war that began almost 50 years ago. Isn't it time to tell it like it is? ◀



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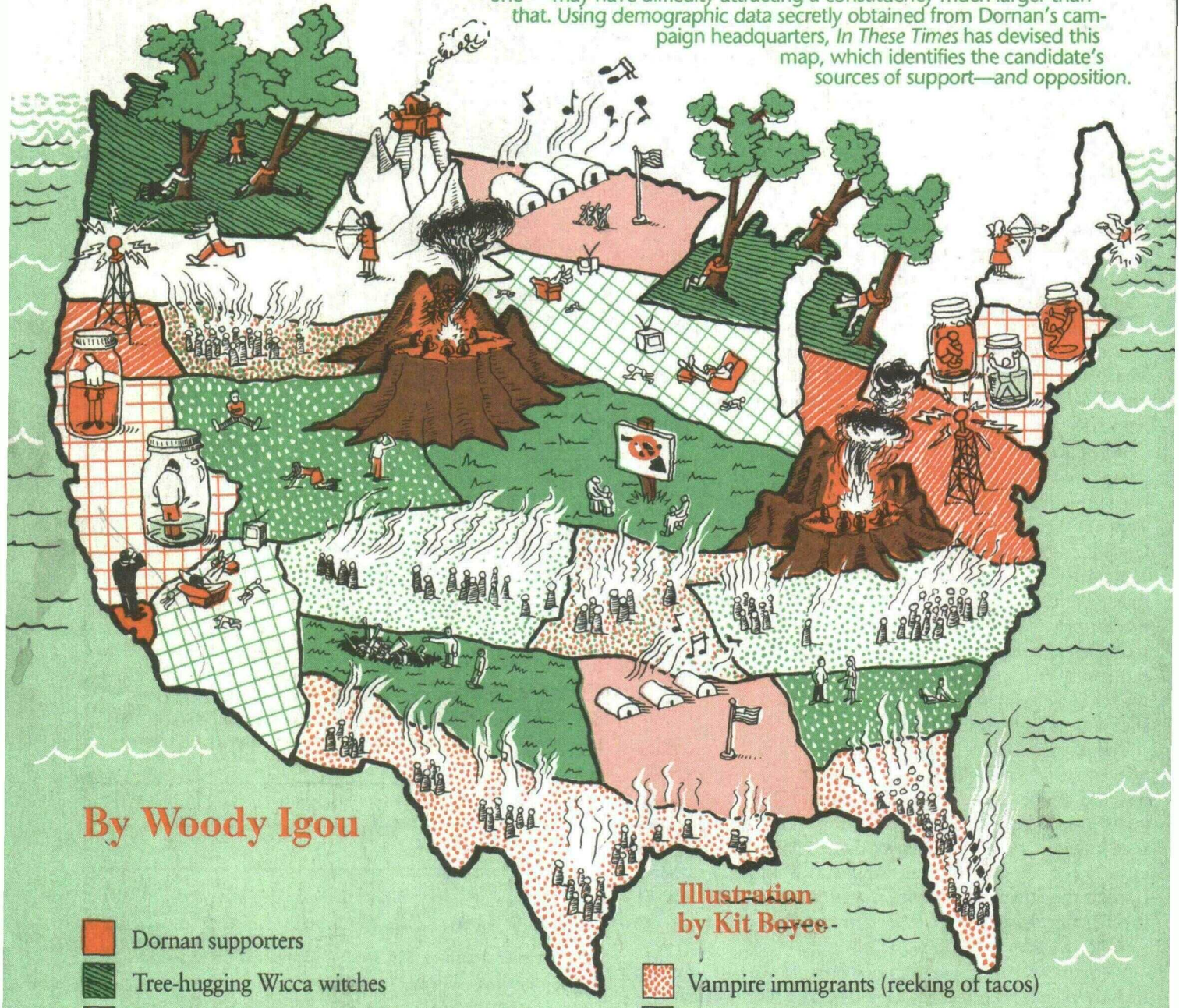
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Bob Dornan's America

A CANDIDATE'S DILEMMA

On April 13, far-right Rep. Robert K. Dornan (R-CA) launched his campaign for president, promising to combat the forces responsible for America's "cultural meltdown." *In These Times* has since learned that polls conducted by the Dornan campaign reveal that the ultra-conservative candidate is astonishingly weak outside his Orange County congressional district. The internal polls suggest that Dornan—who calls himself a "truth squad of one"—may have difficulty attracting a constituency much larger than that. Using demographic data secretly obtained from Dornan's campaign headquarters, *In These Times* has devised this map, which identifies the candidate's sources of support—and opposition.



By Woody Igou

Illustration by Kit Boyce

- Dornan supporters
- Tree-hugging Wicca witches
- Blood- and urine-soaked NEA fops
- Indolent welfare slugs
- Gun-hating pansies
- Military units contaminated by Judy Garland tunes
- New Age occultists
- Vampire immigrants (reeking of tacos)
- Vampire immigrants (reeking of curry)
- Vampire immigrants (reeking of soy sauce)
- Hirsute feminist Amazons
- Pre-criminal libidinous scum
- Leninist media oligarchy

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